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GEORGE WASHINGTON, IMMIGRANT

Will the United States forbid asylum to refugees from the oppression of the Russian autocracy? The text of the Burnett Bill, now before Congress, requires the exclusion of persons "who advocate the unlawful destruction of property, . . . or the propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers . . . of the Government of the United States or of any other organized Government." Such a provision, if adopted, would keep out many Russian revolutionists. As has been pointed out, it would have kept out any who took part in the Boston Tea-Party, and even George Washington himself, if they had applied to be admitted as immigrants.

Does Congress want to make this the law of the land?

THE PATENT ABSURDITIES OF PATENT LAW

Two recent patent decisions have called attention to the delays, intricacies, and exorbitant expense to which opposing claimants of rights in an invention are subject. One affirms the claim of Orville Wright to the exclusive right in the method of controlling aeroplanes by wing-warping invented by the Wright Brothers. The other sustains the patent granted in 1898 (and applied for about ten years earlier) to the Rev. Hannibal Goodwin as the first inventor of the flexible film which has so extensively supplanted the use of plates in photography. In both cases there will follow attempts to collect large sums in royalties—in the Goodwin case the present owners of the patent declare that the principal violators of their rights (as they claim) will have to account for from $5,000,000 to $25,000,000.

It is not necessary to express any opinion as to the merits of these long and costly contentions. The point is that the longer and more involved the struggle, the more costly it has been to both sides and the more injurious to those who would use the invention. And where one case is fought out to a decision probably ten are abandoned because the claimant lacks money or courage. One result is secrecy in the use of inventions, which is exactly what our patent laws are meant to discourage. Thus, Mr. Wright now explains why, after he and his brother had made aeroplanes that would fly, there were five years in which the world heard little of aviation; it was, he says, "because we anticipated this very fight we have now brought to a successful conclusion. We decided we would be absolutely lost if our patent became known before we had $200,000 to fight with. Our experience in the courts has indicated that we did not overestimate the money needed."

And Mr. Wright tells of one manufacturer who refused to pay for a license on the frank avowal that he expected to be an old man before a decision of the case was made and that perhaps his grandchildren could deal with the matter. Mr. Goodwin made films in 1887 (he wanted to use them in his Sunday-school picture work), and he died some fifteen years later with his case undecided and to continue undecided for twelve years. Whether his claim was sound or not, he surely had a right to a decision in less than twenty-five years.

A revision of our patent laws after a thorough investigation by a commission of experts is needed. It should forbid the buying of patents for the purpose of suppressing them—prevented in England by granting compulsory licenses for an adequate fee. It should simplify the procedure and regulate the power of appeal, making it impossible for a patent to be good under the jurisdiction of one Circuit Court and bad under another, as is now said to be the case. It should, above all, do away with the harrowing

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delay and ruinous cost that now discourage the poor inventor.

GEORGE WESTINGHOUSE: INVENTOR AND ENGINEER

To no other American except Thomas Edison are so greatly due the advances of our time in invention and consequent industrial expansion as to George Westinghouse, who died in New York City last week at the age of sixty-eight. The application of air power to the railway brake was long resisted by the railway companies, but is now not only universal but by law compulsory. This invention alone, made when Westinghouse was but twenty-one years old, is enough to make one inventor famous, and it was followed by the adaptation of the alternating electric current for light and power purposes, by a valuable air-spring for motor vehicles, by numerous improvements in railway signaling, by the great turbine system for steamships, by a practical method for using natural gas at a distance from its source, and by literally scores of minor devices and discoveries. Out of these inventions grew the immense Westinghouse manufacturing industry, said to employ in all its branches 50,000 men and to represent $200,000,000 in capital.

That Mr. Westinghouse was a man of wide human sympathy as well as a great organizer and developer of industry is shown by the statement in the current accounts of his life that he introduced into this country the now almost universal Saturday half-holiday.

Both physically and as a leader and commander of men Mr. Westinghouse was a man of remarkable strength and energy. Lord Kelvin declared truly that he was "in character and achievement one of the great men of our time."

BILLY SUNDAY

Billy Sunday is a human phenomenon—if he will pardon our applying to him a term of three syllables which, to use his own phraseology, "might make a Greek professor's jaw crack"—a phenomenon that cannot be treated either with indifference or contempt. Some persons, however, especially in our large cities, are inclined to be ultra-critical because Mr. Sunday as a preacher or religious orator violates many of the conventions of the pulpit.

Billy Sunday was, twenty years or more ago, a famous professional baseball player. He played center field on the well-known Chicago team managed by Captain "Pop" Anson, and he was known from the Atlantic to the Pacific in his time as a remarkable thrower and runner. When he became an evangelist, he determined to "play" the game of religion exactly as he played baseball. Mr. Sunday recently appeared on the platform of Carnegie Hall in this city under the auspices of an Evangelistic Committee composed of some of the leading citizens of New York. A reporter of the New York "Sun" describes the event as follows:

> At a wave of the hand from Dr. Wilson Mr. Sunday sprang to the footlights. He went at his job of preaching exactly as a skillful coacher works on the base lines. He made you think of Jennings, Clark Griffith, Germany Schaefer—any one of the ready-witted, nervous, energetic baseball strategists in the midst of a hot game.
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> Billy Sunday went at it with voice, hands, feet, eyes, his whole body. Of medium height, squarely built, with a strong-cut, smooth-shaven face, he looked fifteen years younger than his age. He talked so rapidly that often whole phrases seemed to explode as a Roman candle explodes and were lost in a crackling of sounds. He roamed up and down the stage, stamping his feet, pounding the desk, bending double, kicking out over the footlights, hurling defiance at the powers of evil with the same motion that an outfielder uses in throwing to the home plate.
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> He spoke of God, Jesus, and the Apostles as men speak of acquaintances they have just left around the corner. As Billy talked, these things didn't sound irreverent. Possibly they would look differently in print.

Mr. Sunday's theology is of the old-fashioned, and what is sometimes regarded as the orthodox, kind. He believes in a personal devil, a heaven of material blessedness, and a hell in which the obstinate and perverse sinner is condemned to eternal and poignant suffering. His exhortations are an appeal to men to live lives of decent conduct—to live up to the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule. He appeals to men to "turn from the error of their ways" for two motives. One is to save themselves from eternal punishment, and one is to make themselves and their neighbors more fit than they often are to be members of a civilized society. Vice is intolerable to him, and he believes that every decent man should make open warfare upon it. In carrying on this warfare he does not hesitate to use humor, sarcasm, denunciation, pathos, or any other rhetorical weapon to conquer his audience. And he addresses enormous audiences everywhere. In New

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York, on Monday evening of last week, a vast and struggling crowd tried to get into Carnegie Hall to hear him. A correspondent of The Outlook, who succeeded in getting into the meeting, and who is a successful New York business man, not naturally sympathetic with the sensational methods of the emotional type of revivalist, writes to us of that meeting as follows:

"The audience was above the average and struck me as being sincere, in earnest, and not there simply out of curiosity. My own feeling is that Billy Sunday is a better advocate of temperance than religion. He reminds me slightly of the younger Murphy when he used to tear around the platform and appeared to be so terribly in earnest. In other words, I am inclined to think that Sunday's influence on the uneducated would be much greater than on the middle or church-going classes. But he is certainly an interesting talker, and he held the attention of his audience from start to finish. His slang does not grate upon you as much when he speaks it as it does when you read it, and his personality is very pleasing."

One student of Mr. Sunday's work in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and States farther west says that the result of one of his campaigns is a manifest strengthening of the ties of a fraternal spirit among the men of the community. "They discover that after all they are able to spare some money to advance the public good and a little time to the work of strengthening the ties of brotherhood." In this respect, at least, his work is constructive and not merely denunciatory. His methods are sensational, but his purpose is not. Even those who differ with his theology must gladly join with him in his effective and successful attacks upon the whisky traffic in this country, with all its attendant evils.

THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC DISSOLUTION

There appears elsewhere in this issue an article by Theodore H. Price on the attitude of the Administration towards the railways. In that article Mr. Price refers to the dissolution proceedings instituted by the Attorney-General of the United States against the Southern Pacific Railroad system as being contrary to the interests and wishes of the citizens of California. We think he is right in his assertion. To get the facts we telegraphed four representative California citizens—Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California; Mr. Rudolph Spreckels, well known as a champion of the rights of the public; Mr. William H. Crocker, President of the Crocker National Bank of San Francisco; and Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, editor of the Los Angeles "Times," as follows:

> Please telegraph at our expense night letter your opinion in regard to the justice, necessity, and expediency of the Government suit to dissolve the Southern and Central Pacific Railroads, stating also whether the weight of public opinion of the Pacific coast is in favor of or opposed to the proceedings.

Mr. Spreckels telegraphed that he is not now prepared to express an opinion on either question. Dr. Wheeler believes that efficient competition might be of advantage to the State, but that "the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads are so thoroughly bound together that no man can foresee the result of tearing them asunder." He adds that "shippers and railroad men seem to be earnestly opposed to unmerging," but that outside of those two groups the opinion of "the best and wisest citizens is divided." Mr. Otis believes that the dissolution will be both unjust and unnecessary. We quote from his telegram as follows:

> The weight of public opinion on the Pacific coast is, as I construe it, against the pending attempt of Attorney-General McReynolds. The Merchants and Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles—the latter more than three thousand strong—have both endeavored to call the attention of the President to the hardships that will certainly come to California if the Attorney-General persists in proceeding with the plan which he has announced for the dissolution of the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads. Both roads have been under one management so long and their operations have been so completely amalgamated that an attempt to separate them will be sure to produce much less efficiency in handling business and higher charges must follow as the logical result. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

That public opinion against dissolution is not confined to California is clearly demonstrated by the facts stated in Mr. Crocker's telegram, as follows:

> The commercial interests of the Pacific Coast are strongly opposed to this dissolution. This is evidenced by the many protests which have been made to the President of the United States and to the Attorney-General by commercial organizations and by individual merchants and manufacturers; by the action taken by the San

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Francisco, Los Angeles, and Portland Chambers of Commerce in sending committees to Washington to present personally the protests of their own and affiliated organizations against the proposed suit; and also by the protests of the Governor of Oregon and of the California and Nevada Railroad Commissions. The two roads were constructed by the same owners and have always been operated as one system with the object of serving the Western States, and particularly California. If the lines are forced into separate ownership and operation it will result in great disadvantage to the shippers and the great traveling public.

WILLIAM H. CROCKER.

It is well to remember that the California Commission, to which Mr. Crocker refers, is one of the best State Railway Commissions in the country.

The Outlook has not yet seen any statement by Mr. McReynolds or any other member of the Administration or by any other anti-railway publicist that convinces it that the way to eradicate the evils or injustices of railway management is to break up the railways into their component parts. We believe as heartily as we did in the days when the Hepburn Railway Rate Bill was passed in Government regulation of the railways. But we shall never believe nor cease to protest against Government destruction of the railways.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF WEALTH

A poor boy becomes a self-made man in wealth and station, and when he dies we remember the qualities which made him what he became. But a rich boy may also become "self-made."

George Washington Vanderbilt, who has just died at a comparatively early age, was such. Born to great wealth, he might have devoted that wealth to the gratification of his own personal comfort. He did devote some of it in that way; he built a splendid country house—perhaps the most notable architectural achievement of the late Richard Morris Hunt. He gathered together a rare library and rare works of art.

But he believed that he owed certain duties to his fellow-men, and the qualities which in another man might go to "self-making" in financial, commercial, professional, political, or social station were directed, with Mr. Vanderbilt, to a self-making in wise benefactions. For example, his love of books led him to found and equip the Thirteenth Street Branch of the Free Circulating Library in New York City, and to give a library to the then struggling Teachers College in University Place. This led to annual gifts to the College, which alone preserved its existence; they culminated in Mr. Vanderbilt's purchase of the site on which the Teachers College now stands.

Mr. Vanderbilt's love of pictures led him to present to the American Fine Arts Society, of New York City, that part of its Fifty-seventh Street building known as the Vanderbilt Gallery, the largest of the galleries used for the regular exhibitions of the National Academy of Design and of the American Water-Color Society.

At Biltmore, Mr. Vanderbilt's estate near Asheville, North Carolina, he built a town for his hundreds of employees, where, at a nominal rental, they lived in model cottages. He established a village school, and saw that it was conducted by the best methods. He also provided manual training for the many children in the town. He founded boys' and girls' clubs. He built a hospital and a church. On his farm he established a model dairy which sells butter and milk in Asheville. He established a live stock farm, and the sales of prize specimens came to be an event of inter-State interest. Pictures of Biltmore appear elsewhere in this issue.

THE BILTMORE SCHOOL OF FORESTRY

But chiefly, Mr. Vanderbilt was among the first to introduce modern scientific forestry into America. His North Carolina estate included some 125,000 acres. Mr. Vanderbilt put the estate in charge of Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape architect, and then proceeded, guided by Professor Schenk, of Darmstadt, to apply the principles of scientific forestry as developed in Germany. The quadrupling of the value of timber on the estate since then is largely due to this scientific endeavor. But this was only incidental. Mr. Vanderbilt's larger aim was to help others, and so he founded the Biltmore School of Forestry, in which, under Professor Schenk's management, hundreds of foresters have been trained.

In any event this school would have had a beneficial influence, but the location of the school gave it a particularly timely influence. For on that North Carolinian watershed rise some important streams of much use for power and navigation in other States, and

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at that time there was little discussion of any large provision for the preservation of our forested watersheds. The Appalachian region contained the largest remaining stand of hard woods in the Nation; it was being rapidly devastated. The establishment of the Biltmore School came exactly at the right time. It formed an object-lesson that forest conservation was not only sane in itself but also profitable, and that, in particular, with regard to the Appalachian region, the very life of the South was at stake. There was then no forest provision in any Southern State, and North Carolina in particular objected to taxing herself with a large investment involved in the purchase of forest cover for the benefit of her sister States. We have but to remember these facts and to see now the efforts made in the Southern States for the creation of State forest areas under competent foresters, for the enactment of adequate fire laws, for the taxation of forest lands, and for the enactment of the Federal law protecting the Appalachian watershed, to realize the great change in attitude since the Biltmore School was established.

There are now eighteen Schools of Forestry in the United States. It may be that Biltmore has done its work and that other schools are more important. But it has done its work well, and the source of its power was a young man who realized that he owed something to others.

NEGRO MUSIC IN THE LAND OF FREEDOM

"I never before heard so many good tunes in Carnegie Hall," testified one hearer at the concert of Negro music given in New York City last week, and with that testimony most of the audience would have undoubtedly concurred. Benefit concerts usually mean a maximum of benefit with a minimum of music; and, as this was for the benefit of the Music School Settlement for Colored People, the public may have been somewhat skeptical about it. That is the only imaginable reason why Carnegie Hall was not crowded. It is doubtful whether during the whole year any other concert is given in New York City which would appeal to so wide a variety of musical taste as this did—and appeal strongly, too—from the taste that is wholly pleased and satisfied by ragtime to the taste that finds delight in the artistic use of musical material.

The programme consisted of music composed and performed by Negro musicians. There was a Negro orchestra of symphonic proportions; there was a chorus of Negro singers from the Music School Settlement; there was a smaller body of singers called the "Afro-American Folk-Song Singers;" and there were several vocal soloists, as well as a 'cellist and violinist who played their own harmonization of Negro melodies in the form of unaccompanied duets.

The twenty-five pieces on the programme, grouped into thirteen numbers, ranged from song with piano accompaniment to chorus with orchestra; from march and dance to what might be called orchestral episode. Ample as the programme was, the audience was not satisfied with it and called for encore after encore.

In the history of musical art this concert was highly significant. It not only marked the emergence of the Negro race into a land of musical freedom; but, what is most significant, it proved that this race could bring into this free domain its rich racial treasures. No one who knows anything about the Negro people has doubted its musical gifts. Indeed, some critics have gone to the extreme of believing that in America the Negroes are the only native people natively musical. At the same time there has been a tendency on the part of the Negroes and some of their educators, both white and colored, to discard what is distinctive in their music—to regard the Negro plantation songs and "spirituals," and more especially the rhythms and other distinctive elements in Negro music, as relics of degradation. There has been some real ground for the fear that with education the Negro musician would abandon the musical riches that are stored like ore in the hearts of his people and seek to fashion his music out of the wealth that the whites have been refining and manipulating. This concert was enough to set such fear at rest.

THE PROMISE OF NEGRO MUSIC

First of all, there was evidence on the part of these Negro musicians that they were proud of their musical inheritance. It was a good sign that J. Rosamond Johnson, whose music is of the sort that is popular on Broadway, sang some of his own music-hall songs. These are not of a very high order, it may be admitted; but they have the merit of spontaneity, and in rhythm and melody are characteristic of the race. It was as if these Negroes were saying, "Here

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is musical material which we know is universally popular and which we contribute to the world of art." And Rosamond Johnson is a musician of no small attainment, as was proved by a part song of his that was sung by the Afro-American Singers.

More significant still was the contribution made to the programme by Harry T. Burleigh, the well-known Negro baritone. His singing of the song "Father Abraham," with his splendid, strong, almost barbaric harmonization, was alone a demonstration of the new promise to the art of music that is made by Negro musicians.

Equally significant was the orchestral performance of the dance music of James Reese Europe, Will H. Dixon, and William H. Tyers; and particularly the fascinating "Creole Waltz," by E. E. Thompson, a composition that in its elusive and yet insistent rhythm would have delighted the soul of Johannes Brahms.

Most significant of all, however, was the work of Will Marion Cook. This accomplished Negro composer, who has studied in Germany as well as in this country, has done a very great service to the art of music. No one who has heard the real untutored singing of Negroes in the heart of the South—whether by congregations in the churches or by groups of laborers in the open air—can ever again be satisfied with the Negro singing that one commonly hears from Negro choruses performing in public, in which all the Negro characteristics of rhythm and tone have been conventionalized. It seemed as if all that would survive in art of Negro music would be this pale reflection. Dvořák used Negro, or negroid, themes; but all the jump had gone out of them. Coleridge-Taylor, the Negro composer of England, used Negro themes somewhat; but he used them as a white man might have done. Will Marion Cook uses them, and he uses them as only a Negro uses them. And, what is more, he has instructed the Afro-American Folk-Song Singers to sing with that indefinable manner in rhythm and tone that takes one right into the midst of the black belt. It is a great artistic triumph.

All honor to these Negro musicians who are proud of their race; all honor to David Mannes, the white musician who has repaid his debt to his colored teacher by giving Negroes a chance to be musicians through the establishment of the Music School Settlement for Colored People.

The next time these musicians give such a concert Carnegie Hall will not be big enough to hold one-tenth of the people that will want to hear them—if the people who like tunes in their music and who did not go this time learn what they missed.

A PUBLIC MAN IN PRIVATE STATION

The face of Mr. John L. Cadwalader, even in the rough process of daily newspaper reproduction, presents a striking contrast to the faces of the corruptionists, grafters, and violators of law who constantly afflict readers of newspapers, and Mr. Cadwalader was so unlike these betrayers of trust and violators of decency that his example and the examples of men of his quality ought to be constantly held up before the youth of America. A man of distinguished ancestry and a product of the best educational advantages, he interpreted these fortunate conditions as responsibilities rather than as privileges.

Mr. Cadwalader's one official service was as Assistant Secretary of State under Hamilton Fish, a position which he held four years, but he was in the best sense of the word a public man. An active lawyer, he gave an immense amount of work to the intellectual and artistic interests of the community. He was President of the New York Public Library, a trustee of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, and was active in the management of the American Fine Arts Society and of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Of his services to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Director, Mr. Edward Robinson, said that his death, which took place in New York last week, would prove of almost irreparable loss to the Museum because of his keen intellect, his breadth of mind, and his sound judgment; and that his relations with all the officers and members of the staff had been exceptionally pleasant. The President of Princeton University used almost the same words in speaking of Mr. Cadwalader's death. He was the first trustee of Princeton to be elected as the representative of the alumni, and after serving in that capacity for five years he was elected a life trustee. The Director of the New York Public Library bore similar testimony as to the value of Mr. Cadwalader's services to that institution, and the secretary of its Board, speaking of Mr. Cadwalader's connection with the establishment of the free library system of the city, said

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that his work as regards the distribution of books through the branch libraries was an even greater monument of his devotion and patience than the great library building on Fifth Avenue.

Mr. Cadwalader had the rare quality of personal distinction. He was a gentleman of the old and the new type, a man not only of the highest character and of broad public interests, but of great refinement of nature and charm of manner, one who united in himself the virtues of the aristocrat with the spirit and devotion of the democrat.

A LAYMAN TO PREACHERS

The election of Mr. George Wharton Pepper to deliver the annual course of lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation in the Yale Divinity School will give great satisfaction to those who feel that the pulpit and the pews ought to come into more intimate relations.

Mr. Pepper is one of the best-known and most influential laymen in the Episcopal Church. He is always a conspicuous figure in the General Conventions of that Church, where his fine integrity, his clear and thoroughly trained mind, and his delightful speaking qualities make him welcome to an audience which sometimes wearies of much talking. This lectureship is one of the best known in the world of theological teaching; hitherto the lectures have always been given by a clergyman, and many had come to accept the selection of a clergyman as an essential feature of this very interesting experiment in outside teaching. Mr. Pepper has a tie with the Yale Divinity School by reason of the fact that his father-in-law was Dr. Fisher, one of the most distinguished teachers of the school.

If there are any experts on preaching, apart from the little group of preachers of genius, they are as likely to be found in the pews as in the pulpit. In fact, the most accomplished critics of preaching have always been found in the pews. Everybody remembers the acute comment of the old Scotchwoman, reported by Dr. Watson, who, in answer to an appeal for judgment on a very popular young minister of imposing physique, simply said: "Put not your trust in the legs of a man." An intelligent and sympathetic hearer who has listened to sermons for many years is in a position to offer suggestions to young preachers of the highest possible value. Although a man of very decided theological and ecclesiastical views, Mr. Pepper is a deeply spiritual man and an ardent friend of every rational movement towards Christian unity. If to the words which Matthew Arnold borrowed from Swift —"sweetness and light"—be added strength and candor, the qualifications of this eminent layman as a teacher of young preachers are well stated. Other theological schools would do well to follow the example of the Yale Divinity School.

PRISON REFORM

Under the auspices of the National Civic Federation an important conference on prison reform was recently held in Carnegie Hall, New York City. Of greatest interest, perhaps, was the address of Governor West, of Oregon, whose reputation in this particular field had long since preceded him to New York. He has been responsible for the inauguration of the honor system in the prisons of Oregon. He accurately defined the problems that confront prison reformers as belonging to three classes:

> Such treatment for the prisoners confined in a penal institution as will make for their moral, mental, and physical uplift and reformation.
>
> A close study of the causes which lead to the commission of crime.
>
> The removal of these causes.

Governor West, as reported in the New York "Evening Post," further said:

> Prison reform in Oregon, as in the other States, is in the first stage. The problem as to the care of the prisoner is being solved. While our prison is old and in many respects out of date, improvements made in recent years have gone far to modernize it and give us to-day a fairly up-to-date institution.
>
> Our experience shows that about one-third of the inmates of the institution may be detailed under the "honor system" for work at other State institutions or upon the county roads. Of the other two-thirds, one-half can be employed in the maintenance and upkeep of the prison. The balance is therefore available for the conduct of such prison industries as may be installed.
>
> One of the most burning questions having to do with prison reform before the people of to-day is how far a State shall go in the utilization of its prison labor. Organized labor has taken more real interest in this problem and has done more towards its solution than all other organizations combined. The labor unions have been bitterly opposed, and properly so, to the contract

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labor system, and the placing of prison labor in competition with free labor, for, as is well stated by the New York State Commissioner of Labor in his report of 1909, "all goods are sold by commercialism, and the lowest price makes the price for all as long as the cheapest article is on sale."

We know that the wages paid by the contractor for prison labor are far below a living wage for free labor, and inasmuch as the prison labor contractor fixes the price, manufacturers who employ free labor must necessarily reduce wages to the lowest possible point in order to meet this unfair competition.

Most of those who have given the labor question serious consideration agree that the State system, or the manufacture of products for the sole use of State institutions, is a solution to the problem, and in this they have the support of organized labor.

In describing the rather unconventional methods by which he succeeded in establishing industries in the prisons under his control, Governor West said that his reforms were possible only because he had acted before the legislators could interfere. He added, incidentally, that fully five per cent of the prisoners in Oregon came originally from New York State. To this thrust at "home industries" Governor Glynn, of New York, who presided over the meeting, ventured a reply. We cannot quote him verbatim, but this expresses the sense of his remarks. "I do not know," he said, "how many Oregonians there are in our prisons, but I can tell you that if Governor West had been Governor of New York and had bought a farm for his convicts after the methods he employed in his own State there would be at least one Oregonian behind our prison bars!" To this Governor West attempted a good-natured rejoinder, but the sound of his voice was drowned in the laughter of the audience.

ULSTER

Last week the British Government's plan to conciliate the Unionists of Ulster in connection with the Irish Home Rule Bill was laid before the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, proposed that the parliamentary electors of each of the nine counties of Ulster should decide by vote, before the bill became operative, whether that county should be excluded from the bill's operation for a period of six years—that is, whether it should be under the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament to be established by the bill, and help elect its members, or whether it should remain under the rule solely of the British Parliament, as at present. This would probably result in excluding four of the nine counties of Ulster from Irish Home Rule.

Mr. Asquith's proposal is broader than many critics supposed it would be. The concession wrung from him represents a triumph for the Opposition. Mr. Bonar Law, the Opposition leader, declared, however, that, if the Government insisted on the excluded portions of Ulster coming under Home Rule after six years, even though their hostility to it should be greater than ever, he did not see how the Asquith proposal could be accepted. He therefore again urged the dissolution of Parliament and the submission of the whole matter to the entire United Kingdom.

Not since the days of the Long Parliament has England faced a more serious situation. We may not believe in the menace to civil peace involved in the arming of men in Ulster, but there is an ugly fact which must be faced, and that is that this threat of armed resistance is no mere conspiracy, but has behind it, in large degree, the whole weight of the Opposition in Parliament and of a large part of the nation outside.

MILITANT INSANITY

Mrs. Pankhurst and her militant followers have again been actively engaged in postponing the success of the cause for which they are apparently willing to give up their lives. Victims of brutal and stupid if not illegal repression during the years when they first sought by concerted demonstration and the heckling of speakers to place their views insistently before the voting public, the English militants, by methods equally stupid and hysterically criminal, have now alienated a great part of that sympathy for suffrage which the tactical errors of its opponents had aroused.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Pankhurst during her recent tour of this country was at liberty only under the suspended sentence provisions of the "cat and mouse" law. Returning to England, she has renewed her militant activities, and for the seventh time is again lodged in jail. The occasion of her latest arrest was one of the most riotous suffrage meetings that England has yet witnessed. St. Andrew's Hall, the largest in Glasgow, was the scene. The meeting had been well advertised and drew thousands from Edinburgh and other cities of Scotland. When Mrs. Pankhurst appeared

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on the platform, she received an enthusiastic ovation, and immediately began an inflammatory speech. After a few sentences a body of police entered the hall and hastened to the platform, upon which they began to clamber amid intense excitement. A barbed wire had been previously strung along the front of the platform and concealed by paper decorations and flowers. Impeded by this obstruction and by the missiles thrown by those surrounding Mrs. Pankhurst, the police were forced to fight their way towards their intended prisoner. Mrs. Pankhurst attempted to escape from the rear of the hall, but found her way barred by another strong force of police. During the riot half a dozen revolver shots fired from the platform started a panic. Apparently these shots, though adding greatly to the confusion, were nothing but blank cartridges. The hall was finally cleared and Mrs. Pankhurst carried off to London and Holloway Jail.

The aftermath of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest presents perhaps the most disgraceful incident that has yet blackened the militant campaign for suffrage. In revenge for her retention a notorious militant by the name of May Richardson, who has been sentenced to several terms of imprisonment since the beginning of the militant movement, entered the National Gallery, and, watching her chance, slashed in six or seven places Velasquez's famous "Rokeby Venus," a picture purchased for the nation by popular subscription. After her arrest Miss Richardson is reported to have said: "I have tried to destroy the picture of the most beautiful woman in mythological history as a protest against the Government for destroying Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, who is the most beautiful character in modern history." When brought to the court, she declared: "The Home Secretary has turned the criminal code into a farce. This is the tenth time I have been brought before a magistrate this year. He cannot arrest and compel me to serve a sentence. He can only repeat the farce of releasing me." There seems to be more truth in Miss Richardson's second statement than in her first. Certainly a Government which dares not or cannot control the criminal activities of such a woman as Miss Richardson is dangerously close to the border line of countenancing anarchy. If the Government of England can do nothing to protect the priceless treasures belonging to its citizens except to close its galleries and to repeat *ad nauseam* the tragical comedy of sentencing and releasing the offenders against its own security, it has come to a stage of pathetic inefficiency.

What can England do with such women as Miss Richardson? In dealing with such a woman the Government is not concerned with a rational human being capable of feeling either the restraints of logic or the stimulus of intelligent public interest. The proper place for such a woman is not in a prison, from which she can speedily secure her release by threatened suicide, but in an asylum, where her misguided devotion can no longer disgrace the movement which she pretends to represent.

THE KIKUYU CONTROVERSY

The Archbishop of Canterbury has decided to submit the Kikuyu case to the meeting of the Consultative Body of the Anglican Church, which will be held in July. This organization was created five years ago and consists of representatives from all branches of the Anglican Church. Among the members are the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Dean of Westminster. Ireland, Scotland, Canada, and Australia are represented by their Primates, and the West Indies, China, Korea, India, and Japan by bishops. The Archbishop of Canterbury acts as chairman. The meeting in July will be the third which this organization has held since it was created, five years ago.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his initial statement makes the issue much larger than was at first reported. In June last, he says, a Conference of missionaries working in British East Africa was held at Kikuyu, and by resolution proposed a scheme of federation of missionary societies with a view to the ultimate union of the native churches. The chairman of that Conference, the Bishop of Uganda, explained that it was clearly understood that none of the signatories of the proposed scheme claimed any power to decide; all that they attempted to do was to submit to the authorities what the missionaries in the Conference regarded as a feasible plan of united action. This plan, the Archbishop declares, presents some administrative provisions relating to the work of missionary societies which demand careful consideration by the authorities of those societies, and he proposes to submit to the Consultative Body the question whether the

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provisions of the proposed scheme "contravene any principles of church order the observance of which is obligatory upon the bishops, the clergy, and the lay workers of the Church of England at home and abroad, and, if so, in what particulars." At the close of the Conference, the Archbishop adds, the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda celebrated the Holy Communion, which was attended by a large number of missionaries who had taken part in the Conference, many of whom were not communicants of the Church of England. All these, however, had taken as the basis of possible federation "the loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as our supreme rule of faith and practice, and of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief." The Archbishop asks whether, in view of the precedents and circumstances of the case, the action of the bishops who arranged and conducted this service was, in the opinion of the Consultative Body, consistent or inconsistent with principles accepted by the Church of England.

It is fortunate at this juncture that the Archbishop of Canterbury has both courage and good sense. Dr. Davidson is often spoken of as a statesman, as Archbishop Benson was spoken of as a saint. This is one of the times in the history of the Church of England when a statesman is likely to be of more immediate service than a saint.

THE DEPORTATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR LEADERS

On another page an illustration appears of the South African labor leaders looking over the rail of the steamer Umgeni, which bore them from Durban, Natal. The arrival of the vessel had been eagerly awaited by the British labor leaders.

The deported men had announced their intention not to leave the Umgeni until they were landed again in South Africa. But the British labor leaders finally persuaded them to come ashore.

The formal statement drawn up on board the Umgeni by the South African leaders declares that the so-called Burgher force, mobilized by the South African Government, was composed almost entirely of Boers and was used to terrorize British workers, that the members of the force arrested indiscriminatingly hundreds of persons for no crime whatever, and that the labor leaders had been kept in their cabins under an armed guard until the vessel reached the three-mile limit; then they were free men. They protest that they have given hostages to South Africa in the persons of their wives and families, and that they are now being treated, not as British citizens and settlers, but as outcasts. They conclude as follows:

> What we are contending for is the right of every British citizen, settler, and artisan in South Africa who, being charged with any offense against the laws of the country, shall be entitled to be duly cited to appear before any of the recognized courts of the country and by such courts either convicted or discharged.

The bill before the South African Parliament justifying the Government's action has been passed.

LONG LIVE THE KING!

The danger of friction with England over the Canal tolls or the Mexican situation has apparently passed. This happy outcome is the result not of the diplomacy of our Department of State, but is due to the efforts of an institution in which the average American has a profoundly greater interest. To be brief, King George has witnessed a game of baseball between the Chicago White Sox and the New York Giants, now returned from their tour around the world. After such an example of international comity, what crisis of serious import can arise?

According to reports, the King, under the tutelage of Ambassador Page, readily learned to appreciate the fine points of the game. It is even said that the King manifested instinctive sympathy at the cry of "Kill the umpire!" As to the accuracy of this statement we do not vouch.

What the English people at large thought of the game may be judged very fairly from the following quotation from the London "Times." Like almost all English papers that comment upon the game, the "Times" compares baseball to an old English village game and calls it "glorified rounders." The "Times" adds:

> Of course it has been immensely developed, and the fielders no longer have the youthful joy of "corking" the ball as hard as possible at the fleeing batsman. It is superbly organized and specialized in every detail; but the framework of the old English village game still remains. Secondly, in batting, in spite of all the gorgeous smiting that was seen, baseball does not compare with cricket. Next, the cleverness and velocity of the pitching are wonderful. Finally, there is no fielding in cricket which approaches

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the fielding and throwing which were seen yesterday. The catching (in the cricket sense) was extremely good; but the real marvel of the game was the almost indescribable suddenness and accuracy of the returns. It is little exaggeration to say that in the double plays (when two batsmen were put out off the same stroke) the eye had difficulty in following the movements and the flight of the ball. The throwing from all points was approximately perfect. Before the game began an exhibition of hitting, fielding, and throwing was given by members of the two teams, which delighted the spectators, one excellent piece of fooling being when the New York men for several minutes played with an imaginary ball. Members of the crowd contributed their share to the entertainment by pleading with the pitcher to kill the batsman, and the way the umpire called the "strikes" and "balls" and delivered his decisions was a joy. Altogether it was an excellent game, but, to English spectators, it was not cricket. It cannot be said that the crowd showed any evidence of thinking that baseball is ever likely to supersede our national game.

One thing that the English press commented upon at length was the fact that there was no lost motion in the playing of the game. The "Telegraph" suggests that cricket players might take to heart this hint. "The American baseball players have taught us," says the "Telegraph," "how not to waste time. The teams ran onto the field and ran off it again. There was no boot-lace tying, muscle-stretching, pad-fingering, trouser-hitching, etc. And yet, on the other hand, there was none of that fever-heat hustling for which it is the fashion to reprove our American cousins. Twenty thousand persons had paid to see them play a game, and they played that game without fuss or flurry of any kind, and at the same time without constructing (from apathy) unauthorized intervals."

The "Chronicle" notes another difference between baseball and cricket. It says: "Both throwing and catching appeared easier, and possibly this may be due to a slight difference in the balls. Even from a big hit at cricket the ball is always coming at you, as it were. In baseball it comes to you." This may be so. We are not familiar enough with cricket to decide as to the merits of so momentous a distinction.

CONDITIONS IN BRAZIL

Newspaper despatches indicate that a rebellion is going on in Brazil—and especially in the northern States of Pará, Ceará, and Pernambuco—because of unfairness to the Negroes, who form the greater part of the population of those provinces, and also because the Federal Government had assumed an authority not justified by the Constitution.

Where the Negro element predominates, either in this country or Brazil, there is always some danger from sudden expressions of unregulated force, due to unregulated excesses of emotion.

As to the alleged violation of States' rights, the President of Brazil was reproached because he refused to intervene; and, since the Federal troops are now engaged in restoring order, is reproached because he did intervene! The Government seems to be proceeding with spirit. Not alone in the north, but also at Rio de Janeiro, the Federal capital, and at the adjacent cities of Nictheroy and Petropolis, it has proclaimed a so-called "state of siege;" this, however, in Brazil, does not mean the absolute rule of stern, martial law.

Reports of any rising in Brazil should be taken by the reader as meaning something quite different from what would probably be the case in Peru and what would almost certainly be the case in Ecuador or the Spanish-American countries to the north. The civilization represented by the A B C countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile—is proportionately a real civilization as opposed to the more or less sham civilization existing in other portions of South and Central America. Take, for instance, the country which has been supposed most nearly to approach the standard of the A B C countries—Peru. When one considers that Brazil was the only South American country whose independence from Europe was emphasized by the separation of Church and State, and that not until a few months ago did the Peruvian Congress pass a law granting religious toleration, the difference between the two countries seems as wide as the poles.

OUR WORK IN SANTO DOMINGO

The other day ex-President Morales, of Santo Domingo, died. His principal achievement was his appeal to and agreement with our Government in 1905 to place the control of Dominican finances in our hands.

At that time the Dominican debt of record amounted to over $33,000,000; there were also large outstanding obligations, not recorded.

Now, to get hold of the customs receipts

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is the object of almost every Central American revolution. Owing to continued revolution, and especially to incompetent and dishonest administration, the Dominican income had become not only insufficient to support the Dominican Government, but also to meet the interest charges on even its most pressing obligations.

These obligations were held in several European countries. In the interest of their subjects the Governments of those countries were pressing for settlement. The Drago Doctrine (by which governments are withheld from applying force to the collection of private debts) had not yet gone into effect. There was nothing in the shape of international agreement to prevent the application of force by some European Government to collect debt in Santo Domingo. Though such intervention might lead to serious complications, involving our Government and the Monroe Doctrine, European intervention seemed a menacing certainty.

Our State Department vigorously took hold of the situation. It negotiated with the Dominican Government a *modus vivendi* pending the preparation of a treaty. President Roosevelt gave to the Dominican Republic the assistance requested. Dr. Jacob H. Hollander, Professor of Economics in Johns Hopkins University, was appointed to obtain all possible reasonable agreements with the creditors and to outline a form of settlement. In making allowance for fraud and dishonest claims, the debt was scaled down about half and new bonds were issued. The War Department's Insular Bureau was called upon to name the officials for the collection of customs, and Colonel George R. Colton, who had been in the Philippine Service (and who later became Governor-General of Porto Rico), was appointed "Receptor," or Receiver-General. His salary and those of his American assistants were paid by the Dominican Government, the assistants being chosen from persons who had had experience in the Cuban and Philippine customs services.

HOW TO DOUBLE INCOME

Colonel Colton went immediately to Santo Domingo and took formal possession of the several custom-houses at the seacoast entry ports. He continued Dominican officials and subordinates in the service wherever possible, keeping the number of Americans employed at the lowest limit compatible with efficiency. The customs receipts immediately increased, and were further augmented by Mr. W. E. Pulliam, the next Receptor, who induced the Dominican Government to decrease its tariff on essentials and increase it on luxuries. From the sum received each month from customs there is subtracted, first the expenses of collection, next the interest on the bonds, and then a proper proportionate amount for paying off the principal. The Dominican Government gets the rest.

What has been the result? The revenue has more than doubled. The share of the Dominican Government is greater than it had ever had before—even in the days when it was not paying a cent on its indebtedness.

Moreover, the Dominican Government has also been learning how to spend money. Since the United States took hold, the first real roads in Santo Domingo, outside of the towns, have been built and other public improvements made possible.

If our requested intervention had this immediate effect, it also had an effect on rebel leaders and European governments. We established Dominican self-respect at home and abroad. We inaugurated the first long period ever known of freedom from revolution in Santo Domingo. To check most of the risings it simply sufficed to inform the rebels that even if they should overthrow the Government they would not get the customs receipts. In the serious disturbances during 1912 neither faction disturbed the custom-houses. In 1913, however, as the new Receptor, Walter W. Vick, chronicles in his report just at hand, our Government was compelled to show force. For the first time in history, owing to revolutionary disturbance, the American Government upheld the blockade of Dominican ports. The cost to the customs revenues of the disturbance to trade will be very considerable, as the ports in question, Puerto Plata, Sánchez, and Samaná, produce about two-thirds of Dominican revenue.

Despite the cost of maintaining the blockade, Mr. Vick's report reveals the gratifying fact that last year the collections were the largest on record. The only feature calling for adverse criticism is the recent case of the recognition of revolutionary indebtedness as belonging to the Government. This violates both the spirit and the intent of the treaty. With this exception the history of our relations with Santo Domingo during the

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past nine years forms a signal example of international Big Brotherhood.

NATIONALISM IN INDIA

The recent National Congress held at Karachi, in the northern part of India, the twenty-eighth assembly of its kind, is one of the many indications of the growing feeling of nationalism among the people of India.

These Congresses were started by Allan Hume, of the Civil Service, who recently died—the son of Joseph Hume, the economist; by Sir William Wedderburn, who is still living; and by the late W. C. Bonnerjee, a wealthy and generous Bengal Brahmin, who put the Congress on a proper substantial foundation, though much of the support came because of Mr. Hume's journeys throughout India. As the existence of these Congresses was also due to the policy of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, it will be seen that the rise of nationalism in India has been fostered both by Englishmen and by natives.

While there has always been a certain sentiment of nationality, there has never been any predominant note of what one might call nationhood in India. Throughout the ages certain national ideals have ministered more or less to the imagination and culture of the people. But they have never made a "practical" nation of India, one desirous of occupying a prominent place in the realm of commerce and material things, nor have they ever brought about any real sentiment of unity among the various races.

Some incitement toward these things came doubtless with the Mohammedans, whose prophet of the desert was received among the tolerant Hindus. But as a whole the Mohammedans have stood outside the Congress movement, though their own social and political movement is increasingly friendly to it.

Then came European civilization, culminating in the conquest of India by the British. After the introduction of a common language, of a system of education and regularized administration, probably the most striking contribution made by the British towards the social and political unification of India was when Queen Victoria proclaimed that there should be no difference between race and race or color and color, and that all her subjects should enjoy equal opportunities. This proclamation appealed to the popular mind, but, according to Indian complaints, its fulfillment has been slow.

This has disturbed not only the people of India, but many Englishmen as well. It found expression in 1885 in the summons to a National Congress. The Congress petitioned for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire concerning urgent reforms; in especial for the expansion of the opportunities for legislation; for simultaneous civil service examinations in England and India; for a military college; for economic reform; for the separation of the executive and judicial functions; and later for self-government for India on colonial lines.

ITS LEADERS

Among the leaders of the Congress perhaps the most remarkable has been G. K. Gokhale, the member from Bombay in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. His distinction as a politician lies in his knowledge and mastery of facts, the constructive ability he has shown in submitting programmes, and his cogency in argument. He has done much to show that the native of India can be eminently practical.

Turning to the intellectual and spiritual side, among the present workers in the national movement probably the best known internationally is the poet Rabindranath Tagore. His place is really that of an independent leader and inspirer of the general nationalistic movement. His are the newer ideals of India. Boldly proclaiming that memorials are of little effect, he preaches a new renaissance. The keynote of his gospel seems to be self-help. The poetic power of this new prophet has spread this gospel throughout the imagination of young India.

For the three hundred million people in India, like the four hundred million in China, have not been able to resist a world-wide tendency during the past generation towards political unity and nationhood. And the singular thing about both India and China is the fact that foreign control has aided this movement, sometimes by antagonism to it, but often by sympathy with it. This has certainly been true of the generally intelligent British control in India; it was latterly true even of the generally unintelligent Manchu control in China. It will always be true of any foreign control which, like our own in the Philippines, means a

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rule purely for the benefit of the people ruled.

FARMERS' WEEK IN OHIO

It is extraordinary that geographical boundaries—arbitrary lines dividing our united country into sections for the convenience of government—should also mark off and isolate types of humanity and develop so many specific problems as is the case. As one travels west there are points where certain difficulties slough off and drop out of the train window, as it were, and what seem like totally unrelated problems spring up abruptly, attaching themselves to one's every thought and deed.

By the time one is well into the heart of Ohio the economic and social difficulties of farm life appear the most pressing questions which our Nation has to meet. Ohio seethes with boys and girls, men and women, struggling toward knowledge—knowledge of their own profession!

The Ohio College of Agriculture, a department of the Ohio State University, has just held (February 2 to 6) its second annual Farmers' Week or Short Course. Lectures were given by experts, seven hours daily, upon the raising of crops and the perfecting of farm homes.

The registration for this course, exclusive of the regular students of the College, was seven hundred and seventy, and was drawn from four States. Men had literally left their plows in the fields to catch their trains, because they believed that it would pay them to come; boys had been sent by their Young Men's Christian Association centers; women from sixteen years of age to over sixty listened with fervor to two-hour talks on the preparation of vegetables, the quartering of animals and the cooking of cuts, the remodeling of clothes, the equipment and beautifying of their homes. The longing—the passion—for knowledge of their own life-work was written upon seven hundred and seventy faces.

These men and women, boys and girls, understand that a new epoch has risen for the farm; that we can no longer mine our soil, but must cultivate it; that we can no longer live in the isolation of vast expanses, but must grow our crops more intensively, forcing out of each acre all that labor and market conditions warrant and rendering to it again its original fertility. They understand that the farmer must learn not only to grow crops, but to market them—he must become a business man. The average income of the American farmer is less than a thousand dollars a year, and our system of rural credits is not sufficiently complete to finance his business; therefore he must learn to co-operate with his neighbors in order to find the nearest market and the cheapest producing and shipping facilities. He must also co-operate with his wife, who is coming to be recognized as a producer. Even if affection and self-respect do not compel it, economy makes it advisable that her time and strength should be conserved by the installation of running water, the purchase of a separator, a washing-machine, and many other labor-saving devices.

These things are understood, but the methods of their accomplishment are yet to be mastered. The Middle West offers the spectacle of the ancient profession of farming seeking a larger outlet for its energies—a new birth into usefulness. The splendor of youth and of sunrise is in the effort, and the future of our civilization lies in its success.

A CIRCULATING LIBRARY THAT CIRCULATES

Mr. Josiah H. Benton, the efficient President of the Boston Public Library and one of the leaders of the bar of that city, in a recently published pamphlet on "The Workings of the Boston Public Library" brings out clearly the manifold services which such an institution may render. A generation ago a library was a kind of mausoleum where books in dead languages were stored for scholars and where meager facilities were extended to general readers. Mr. Benton's definition of the purposes of a free public library discloses a different ideal and is a good description of the basis on which the public libraries of the country are now working: "The primary purpose of a free public library supported by taxation is to give the use of good books and other educational library material to persons who might not otherwise enjoy such use." Such a library also should "afford opportunity for study and research by scholars and students."

The Boston Public Library renders both services. During the past year it has been daily supplying with books 30 branches and reading-rooms, 62 engine-houses, 36 institutions, and 139 public and parochial schools. The branches thus fed become themselves reservoirs for further distribution; they are sending out about 44,000 volumes annually;

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and thus the central library, so to speak, percolates knowledge throughout the entire city. It distributes not only books, but photographs and pictures of many kinds which are of great service in the work of the schools. About forty thousand pictures from the branch collections are annually lent to reading-rooms, schools, and study clubs; and the central library sends out more than 2,500 portfolios of pictures to schools. Not only are books carried to the people of the city, but people who come to the library are rendered every possible assistance in the selection of topics and books. They find there a group of experts whose chief business it is to furnish information.

SOME INTERESTING QUESTIONS

The inquiries made at the library in regard to topics and books are full of human interest. They show over what a wide area the minds of children and their elders are at work. Many of the inquiries indicate that even in Boston knowledge is not yet universal.

Questions have been received in regard to the authorship of "Kenilworth," of "Tom Brown at Rugby," of "The Birds' Christmas Carol," and of "Tom Sawyer." The library was requested to furnish Shakespeare's "Taming of the Crew," "Casero's Essays on Senility and Friendship," which may be regarded as a free translation of Cicero's "Essays on Old Age and Friendship," and, perhaps most surprising of all, "Mark Antony's Meditations." The unconscious humor of this confusion of two men as far apart as the poles would have made even the serious Emperor smile. The library was also asked to furnish the "picture of an apricot for a grocer's label," "a medical book for a young man studying to be an undertaker," a book on "veal," and one on the "etiquette of mourning." The interest in psychology is indicated by the request for books on the "effect of colors on human conduct" and "the education of the nervous system," while such requests as those for information about the "identification of a religious order from the dress of a doll," "the habitat of the razor fish," and "sanctification" reveal a truly catholic breadth of intellectual interest. It is to be hoped that the inquirer who asked, "Who predicted the greatness of New York City?" received a satisfactory answer.

In one of the branch reading-rooms during three days 1,075 volumes of American history were asked for, 305 volumes on social science, 237 on natural science, and 243 on the useful and mechanical arts.

The Outlook has many times referred to the work of Mr. Dana, of the Newark Public Library; that library and the Boston Public Library strikingly illustrate the immense educational power of a great collection of books if it is skillfully directed to public uses and so organized as to bring all its resources within the reach of the public.

THE ANARCHY IN MEXICO: IS THERE A WAY OUT?

In the United States Senate last week Senator Fall, of New Mexico, read a list of sixty-three murders and outrages committed against American citizens in Mexico during the last three years. Some allowance should be made for the varying degrees of criminality involved and the fact that some of the crimes took place before the fall of Madero. Yet the list, both in its extent and in the horror of its details, vividly impressed the country with the need of some action to make such murders and outrages of our fellow-citizens in a neighboring country impossible.

Equally impressive is the humiliating position in which we stand to-day as regards the most recent charges of murder in Mexico—Vergara, killed by Federals; Bauch, said to have been killed at Villa's orders; and Benton, the Englishman, killed by Villa's orders, if not by Villa himself. In all these cases the United States has sought for information, and has been repelled with vague promises of future inquiry by Mexican commissions. We simply do not know to-day how these three deaths occurred; we are barred from finding out, and if reparation is due nothing seems further away or less probable than its exaction. The uneasiness on our side of the border is increasing also; Governor Colquitt, of Texas, while he did not, as at first supposed, authorize the recent recovery by force of Vergara's body, is urgent in asking that crimes across the border against Texan citizens be stopped. In every direction the situation seems worse rather than better, while the probability is small that the fight between Federals and Constitutionalists will soon be closed, and equally small that Huerta will withdraw from his dictatorship.

What, then, can be done? Senator Fall

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urged "interposition" as opposed to what he regards as the "intervention" now actually going on through our attempts to interfere in Mexico's domestic affairs. His recommendation was stated thus:

> With the solemn declaration that we do not want to war upon the Mexican nation or people; that it is not our purpose to acquire territory, upset their laws, or overturn their Constitution, and an invitation to the masses of the Mexican people to co-operate with us, we should immediately direct the use of the land and naval forces of this Government for the protection of our citizens and other foreigners in Mexico wherever found, and lend their assistance to the restoration of order and to the maintenance of peace, and the placing of the administrative function in the hands of capable and patriotic citizens of Mexico, to be left with them, to the end that, under their own laws and customs, without interference from ourselves or others, elections may be held and those elected allowed to administer their own Government.

No doubt President Wilson would call this both intervention and war, and the people are with the President in hoping that armed action may be avoided. Recognition of Huerta is repugnant to the Administration and, we believe, to the best American public opinion, and it would in any case not protect our citizens in the immense territory controlled by Villa. Moreover, the question is not merely how to protect Americans for the next few weeks or months, but how to aid Mexico to become a responsible country in which life and property will be permanently safe. Is there a way to this?

The answer, in our judgment, lies in the direction of making the Mexican question not one for Mexico alone, nor for the United States alone, but instead one for the combined wisdom and action of the four great self-governing American republics, the United States, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. Mexico is not and never has been such a republic; it should be helped to become one; and because its problem is of intense importance to the countries named, they should, and we believe in the end will, take it up jointly. Mexico could but yield to such united representations and urging, backed as they would be by the ultimate possibility of overwhelming force, and accompanied as they would be by a mutual disavowal of aggrandizement or spoliation.

This plan, which has become known as the "A B C Doctrine," was long ago suggested by Mr. Charles H. Sherrill, formerly American Minister to Argentina, and has been repeatedly spoken of with approval by The Outlook. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. John Barrett, and Rear-Admiral Chester are among the supporters of the idea. It has been advocated by several influential newspapers and notably by the New York "Tribune" and "Sun," has been proposed on the floor of Congress, and is gaining adherents constantly. Its wisdom has never been successfully questioned, if it has been questioned at all; whether it is practical or not, must, like all great international undertakings, be put to the proof. Generally what is wise is practical, and this need be no exception to the rule. The strong, sane, sober American powers have common interests of more than one kind; the sooner they begin to act in unison for the common good, the better.

MR. GEORGE AND THE FREEVILLE REPUBLIC

In its issue of December 27 The Outlook reported the outcome of the first of two investigations into the affairs of the George Junior Republic. This investigation, it will be remembered, was made by the State Board of Charities. The findings of this Board dealt with two general subjects—the principles upon which the Republic was founded, and the moral character of Mr. George, the creator of the Republic. In its discussion of this report The Outlook treated only the first of these topics, and advised its readers to withhold judgment as to the merits of all charges and complaints until the findings of the second committee appointed by the Trustees of the Republic were made public. The State Board, as The Outlook has already reported, came to the conclusion that the George Junior Republic might profitably continue to exist if Mr. George were removed from the Republic, and then the Republic removed from what remained. It showed an utter lack of comprehension of the underlying principles of Mr. George's remarkable institution, and an equal lack of knowledge as to the demonstrated results of Mr. George's drastic and courageous system of education. Perhaps before proceeding to a discussion of the findings of the second committee and the action of the Trustees of the George Junior Republic and of the

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Directors of the National Association of Junior Republics upon their report, it may be worth while to give a brief résumé of the genesis of the Republic idea—an educational discovery which has influenced both pedagogy and penology not only in this country but abroad.

Contrary to what may be the general belief, the Republic did not spring full fledged from the brain of its creator. Every step in the history of the Republic and every development has been the result of actual experience. The George Junior Republic has not proceeded from the theory of what ought to be to what is, but has advanced steadily from definite causes to definite effects.

In the summer of 1890 Mr. George, already a conspicuously successful leader of the tough boys and girls in his own district in the city of New York, opened a summer camp at Freeville for the rejected of the other institutions devoted to the cause of promoting the consumption of fresh air. At this time Mr. George was a firm believer in the efficacy of the old-fashioned military discipline. Whipping-bees played a prominent part in the life of that first summer camp. At the beginning his method of discipline was apparently successful, but before long grave misgivings forced themselves into his mind. The boys and girls of his camp began to abuse the hospitalities of the neighboring farmers. They displayed ingratitude amounting almost to genius toward the devoted workers in control (at times) of the camp. When autumn came, the boys and girls went back to the city better in body, perhaps, but without the remotest inkling of moral benefit to show for their summer in the country. As one little Italian girl said when remonstrated with for her selfishness, "What do you t'ink we come for, anyway?"

Disheartened at this cynical utterance coming as the culmination of a series of discouraging situations, Mr. George almost gave up his self-imposed task. He realized, however, that to give up meant a severe disappointment to his supporters and virtual surrender in the face of an appalling need. He determined to give the camp one more trial.

When the next summer came, he decided to inculcate in his charges a love for work as well as a desire for play. He at once started his boys improving the roads near the home of the still unborn Republic. While the novelty of labor lasted, peace and happiness took possession of the camp. The success of this "labor game" was, however, short-lived, and soon the old disorderly discontent returned.

At this juncture a box of second-hand clothes arrived at the camp. Many of the boys, so it is reported in "Citizens Made and Remade," had slashed their suits to rags in order to secure a brand-new outfit. Noting this, Mr. George in disgust started to close the box, when a sudden idea struck him. He determined to sell the clothes to the boys in return for work. A volunteer was found willing to dig for five days to pay for a suit. Soon all the clothes were disposed of to the inhabitants of the camp. The possession of clothes for which the campers had paid with their own labor soon produced not only a respect for property but laws to protect property as well. Since these laws were not imposed from above, but were created by community demand, they were enforced. The germ of a juvenile social community was born.

In the wake of this innovation came a court administered by the boys and girls of the camp for the enforcement of the laws they had created. Offenses against both outsiders and, as we may perhaps now begin to call them, "fellow-citizens" were reduced to a minimum. This newly acquired sense of order could not, we believe, be ascribed to any sudden moral awakening. The campers had merely come to realize that honesty and thrift paid.

From this beginning the complete Republic developed. We have not the space to trace its growth here; for that we advise our readers to turn to the excellent book to which we have already referred, written in collaboration by Mr. George and Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe. It is sufficient to say now that the Republic, like the larger Republic in which we live, has had both ups and downs in its political history. To-day it exists with its own judges, its own legislative body, its own industries, its own homes, its own jail, its own currency. Once its security was menaced by a "free tin party" that brought its citizens to the verge of national bankruptcy. It has had its rings of corrupt politicians, and has succeeded in throwing them out much as New York has recently overthrown Tammany. The protection against the recurrence of such a state of affairs is not adult repression but militant good citizenship. The Republic has likewise had its unjust tax laws, and its battles over girl suffrage. It has educated within its borders not only the sons and

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daughters of the poor, but of the rich as well. Its history has been one of steady progress toward complete self-government as an ideal, and toward a training in self-reliance as the corner-stone of its citizenship.

Mr. George's attitude towards the citizens has been parental in its intimacy, and it is this that has subjected him to the severe criticism which, after several years of agitation by his opponents, brought about the grave charges made to the State Board of Charities and to the investigating committee of his own trustees. Of conscious wrong-doing the latter committee has exonerated him. Nevertheless the three judges, Miss Wald, Judge Seabury, and Mr. Choate, state as their opinion that his conduct in certain instances has been so singularly indiscreet that it cannot be too strongly condemned. Their report can be interpreted as implying delinquency if lack of judgment be classed as a moral failing. When this report was laid before the Trustees of the George Junior Republic and the Directors of the National Association, they voted complete confidence in Mr. George's moral integrity. With this vote The Outlook is in hearty sympathy.

Despite this, it seems to us that Mr. George's usefulness as the active head of any juvenile Republic is ended. It is no small tragedy that this is so, but we believe that he can now best serve the institution he fathered by withdrawing to the larger field of educating the public in the meaning of that movement of which the Freeville Republic is now but a single phase. There is a vast opportunity for Mr. George not only in working for the establishment of other Republics, but in the introduction of the self-government idea into public and private schools, among the boy and girl citizens of our villages, cities, and towns, even within the walls of our State and National penitentiaries. We believe and trust that the unfortunate scandal connected with his name will eventually be discredited by public opinion and that his attractive and compelling personality will again receive the recognition and encouragement which it deserves. The Directors of the Association of Junior Republics have done well to retain his services as a member of their Board of Directors.

Mr. George is not an executive of distinction. A brief visit to the institution at Freeville is proof enough that the financial interests of the Republic might have been better protected in other hands. But we believe there is due to him great credit for the creative idealism that has been at once his chief claim to public attention and the cause of his present misfortunes. The lot of a pioneer is always hard. Hard not only because of the natural difficulties which confront him, but likewise because the spirit of the pioneer is one which all too frequently arouses antagonism, hostility, and resentment as well as the loyalty which courage and leadership always inspire. Mr. George has been in every sense of the word a pioneer.

LETTERS TO UNKNOWN FRIENDS

A minister asks a question which I may summarize thus: How can one who has accepted the newer thinking in theology so present it as to satisfy the desires of those who are longing for the old religion? It is a question which a great many ministers and some laymen are asking. The answer involves a consideration of the use and value of sermons and church services.

Without attempting a philosophical definition of religion, I may, for the purpose of this letter, assume Micah's definition: Doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. Without attempting a complete account of the functions of the Church, I may say that at least a chief function is to promote religion—that is, to inspire men to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God. To do justly is to do unto others as we would have others do unto us; to love mercy is to desire to help the unfortunate, the handicapped, and the erring and sinful; to walk humbly with God is to have him as our comrade, and in that comradeship to think soberly of ourselves and reverently of him. A church, then, is an organization which is formed for the purpose of promoting this life of justice, mercy, and reverent comradeship with God.

There are three methods which the Church has employed to promote this religious life: the ceremonial, the theological, the ethical.

It has called the people together in religious assemblies and led them in exercises of worship, the object of which is to give expression to the feelings of brotherhood, compassion, and reverence. Singing together "Blest be the tie that binds" tends to bind them together in a bond of brotherhood which makes dishonesty and oppression more diffi-

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cult. The fact that the master and the slave knelt together before the same altar was one of the influences which gradually ameliorated and eventually abolished slavery in Europe. To unite in the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men tends to create a fellow-feeling for the objects of the prayer; to unite in the Lord's Prayer tends to develop a reverent feeling of loyal companionship with our Father in heaven.

Unfortunately, the worshipers have too often come to feel that performing the act of worship is religion. Singing "Blest be the tie" has sometimes taken the place of the spirit of brotherhood; praying for all sorts and conditions of men, the place of a life of charity in thought and deed; and repeating the Lord's Prayer, the place of filial obedience to and fellowship with the Father. So far was this carried in the mediæval Church that repeating Ave Marias and Pater Nosters was accounted an act of religion, and the degree of religion was measured by the number of prayers repeated. Then reformers repudiated the old ceremonial and substituted a new one. But whether one attends mass or communion, whether he kneels at an altar or in a pew, whether he sings or listens to singing, whether he prays with a book or without a book, if he imagines that *expressing* religious feeling is the same thing as living a religious life, he falls into a fatal error. Religion is *doing* justly, *loving* mercy, *walking* humbly. To give expression in prayer and song to the religious feeling is valuable only as it tends to promote the religious life.

One reason why many naturally devout persons have discontinued church attendance is because the church service for them no longer promotes the religious life. It seems to them unreal. They still wish to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk reverently, but the church service does not help them to do so. They have abandoned the Church, but they have not abandoned religion. To bring them back to the Church the Church must somehow put new life into its services. It must make its expression of the religious feeling more effective in promoting the religious life.

A second method which the Church has taken has been theological. This was the method of the Puritan reformers. They minimized the service and magnified the sermon. Their position, more or less consciously taken, more or less clearly expressed, might be stated thus: Religious forms tend to religious formalism. Repeating the same confession every Sunday does not inspire penitence; it stifles penitence. In constant repetition devotion grows stale. A fresh feeling must have fresh expression. We must pray, not merely say prayers. And we must put more emphasis on instruction. Man is a reasonable being. Convince men that they are sinners, and they will repent of their sins. Convince them that God is, and that he is the great and living God, and they will reverence him. Convince them of the need and glory of redemption, and they will join Jesus Christ in an endeavor to redeem a lost world. So, for an expression of the religious life in prayer and song, the Puritans substituted instruction concerning the religious life by sermons.

But listening to sermons about religion is no more religion than listening to lectures about health is health. The theologians fell into the same error as the ceremonialists; they mistook a means for the end. In the Puritan Church theology took the place of religion, as in the mediæval Church ceremonial took the place of religion. Doubtless strong affirmations can be found in the Puritan preachers that theology is not religion. In the mediæval writers can be found equally strong affirmations that ceremonial is not religion. Let us say, then, that the *defect* of mediævalism was the substitution of ceremony for life, and the *defect* of Puritanism was the substitution of theology for life. The very structure of the churches emphasizes the difference. In the cathedrals there was often only a movable or temporary pulpit. In the Puritan churches there was no altar.

When astronomy compelled a new theory of the universe, and modern biology and anthropology a new theory of the origin of man and of sin, and modern criticism a new theory of the Bible, and modern sociology a new theory of redemption, the Puritan churches began of necessity to construct a new theology. The ministers who were familiar with modern discovery and the modern mind began to teach a new philosophy of religion. And some of them fell into the error of their predecessors. That is, they substituted theology for religion. But theology is not religion. It is what scholars have thought about religion. The world was not saved by the old theology. It will not be saved by the new theology. Ceremonies have changed. We no longer express penitence, thanksgiving, and consecration by offering sacrifices. But penitence and thanks

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giving and consecration are essentially the same experiences that they were in the days of Ezra. Theology has changed. We no longer believe that man was created perfect six thousand years ago, and that sin came into the world as the result of the fact that a woman was persuaded by a serpent to eat a forbidden fruit. But doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God are essentially what they were in the days of Abraham.

In our time there are a number of self-sacrificing and devoted philanthropists and teachers who have discarded both worship and theology and are endeavoring to promote the higher life by ethical instruction, illustrated and enforced by moral example. But while they endeavor to promote doing justly and loving mercy, they make no endeavor to promote reverent comradeship with God. They substitute the religion of humanity for the humanity of religion. Some of them are preaching ethical sermons in Christian pulpits. Some of them have come out from the Church altogether and are devoting themselves to various forms of social service. They are doing unselfish work for their fellow-men, and in the lives of many of them Christian ministers might well find both example and inspiration.

But I do not believe that ethical culture can take the place of spiritual life. If all that humanity wants is well-regulated conduct, ethical culture might possibly furnish it—though that is doubtful. But that is not all that humanity wants. It wants character. What men think is important; what they feel is more important; what they do is still more important; but what they *are* is most important of all. For out of what they are will come naturally and spontaneously their thinking, their feeling, and their conduct. Prudence may regulate conduct, but prudence cannot create character. Mr. Huxley, in a definition of education which I have often quoted, makes this clear. "Education," he says, "is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of nature, under which name I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways, and the fashioning of the affections and the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws." But earnest and loving desire to obey law can only grow out of affection for the lawgiver. Obedience to the law of gravitation has not the same quality as obedience by a devoted son to the father whom he loves and with whom he delights to work. The loyalty of soldiers to a commander is a recognized asset in all military campaigns. Doing justly and mercifully without this spirit of loyalty to a divine comrade leaves this asset out of the campaign of life. Nothing can take its place.

I am now prepared to answer the question of my unknown friend. The desire of our congregations for the old religion is a wholly legitimate desire. The Negro song, "The old religion is good enough for me," is quite right. It is good enough for any one. No modern substitute can take the place of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God—neither old nor new forms of worship; neither old nor new theology; still less discarding worship and theology altogether and substituting rules of conduct founded on a consideration of the beneficent effects of observing those rules. The minister who would satisfy the need of his people must realize that their need is not a form of worship nor a philosophy of religion, but a life. If he uses a prayer-book, it must serve him as an expression of his own penitence, thanksgiving, consecration. If he does not use a prayer-book, his prayers must be real communion with God, not an address to his congregation. Whether he believes that man has been six or sixty thousand years upon the earth, that sin is the consequence of a fall from perfection six thousand years ago or the consequence of the animalism in us from which we have not yet fully emerged, that Jesus Christ saves us by having paid once for all the penalty of our sins in a sacrifice suffered long ago or by living with us and giving life to us in a perpetual sacrifice, is not unimportant. But it is insignificant beside the question whether penitence for his own sins and joy in his living Saviour are real experiences or only book-learned theories. If they are real experiences and he can communicate them to his hearers, he will satisfy their real needs. If he communicates them through the old theology, some of his hearers will think him old-fashioned in his thinking; if he communicates them through the new theology, some of his hearers will fear that he is not quite sound. But if he succeeds in giving to them that life the fruit of which is doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God, they will accept the gift with thankfulness, whatever may be the philosophy which he employs in imparting the gift.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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PROFIT-SHARING

A DISCUSSION OF THE FORD PLAN

The plan of profit-sharing adopted by the Ford Motor Company, of Detroit, has aroused public interest and discussion to a remarkable degree. The Ford plan has already been described in The Outlook. It involves the distribution to wage-earners through the regular pay envelopes of perhaps $10,000,000 in the current year, while, as the company's official statement explains, the day's work will be eight hours, and no man over twenty-two years old will receive less than five dollars for eight hours' work. In discussing the matter with a representative of The Outlook, Mr. Henry Ford, the founder and chief owner of the company, which manufactures motor cars to the value of a hundred million dollars a year, pointed out that profit-sharing is not only just but that it is also wise, because reason and experience show that it promotes efficiency. He also said that the plan introduced by the Ford Motor Company is experimental and must be judged by its results and not by theoretical reasoning.—THE EDITORS.

I—ITS DEFECTS

BY GEORGE M. VERITY

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ROLLING MILL COMPANY, OF MIDDLETOWN, OHIO

I HAVE been very much interested in the editorial comment in The Outlook of January 17 on "Henry Ford and Profit-Sharing." You say that "public interest has been aroused and public imagination has been stirred by the Ford plan because it is designed on such a large and dramatic scale."

It is very true that public interest has been tremendously aroused and its imagination stirred by the boldness of Mr. Ford's plan and by the enormous figures into which it is supposed to run in a twelve-month period. It is as advanced and radical in its scope in the realm of profit-sharing as is the modern automobile in the field of transportation as compared to twelve years ago. It is so unusual as well as so radical that it is not likely to be understood by a large majority of our people; and, misunderstood, it can do great harm, and might retard rather than promote or accelerate the more general application of profit-sharing.

I say it is unusual and radical, because I do not believe that such an application is within the bounds of possibility in five per cent of the industries or commercial institutions of the country. It should therefore be studied carefully or the mind of labor may become distorted and much trouble and unhappiness ensue.

Permit me to state that I am writing as a friend and strong adherent of profit-sharing, having studied, supported, and promoted it for many years, just as have many of our modern business men whose plans and accomplishments in that respect have never been heard of.

You say that "the Ford Company is one of the most extraordinary recent developments of American industry," and that "its success seems almost magical."

It is really more than that; it is in a class by itself, a veritable "Aladdin's lamp proposition" standing out boldly before the eyes of the world as such. That being true, how can ordinary or ordinarily extraordinary enterprises hope to compete with it in profit-sharing any more than they can in its mechanical and commercial accomplishment? On the one hand, public sentiment commends such a liberal application of a philanthropic principle; on the other hand, it creates conditions which make it difficult for a legitimate enterprise to earn fair dividends for its stockholders.

This is, I feel, the reason for so much adverse criticism by many editors and business men, who see in this instance an example that cannot be followed, and that may tend to make labor and labor organizations more unreasonable in their demands.

The Ford Company: Here is a company with only seven stockholders and with two

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millions of capital stock, doing a business of one hundred millions or more per year, and frankly admitting net earnings of twenty millions per year. Where is there a parallel? Could there be one or more parallels?

I doubt it, as the country could not possibly consume the product of many such developments in any one line, and an attempt to imitate would be certain to spell failure for either the imitator or the imitated.

There are many lines of manufacture in which the annual sales do not exceed the amount of capital invested, and many do not reach it. There are very few corporations or enterprises owned and controlled by seven stockholders which are doing a business of one hundred million dollars per year. There are important industries in this country owned by thousands of stockholders employing three times the amount of capital that cannot hope to earn one-third the amount the Ford Company admit they are earning. There are very few industries which could pay six per cent on their actual cash invested capital, cover fixed charges, depreciation, obsolescence, insurance, taxes, and all absolutely necessary expenses and reserves out of one-half of their earnings.

In this case seven men have, in twelve years, grown so enormously rich that further accumulation of wealth does not attract them; they cannot possibly spend their one-half of the profits, which amount to ten millions per year.

Did any one ever have such a splendid opportunity to be generous and to follow the desires of their hearts in sharing with the men who helped them make their millions?

We must therefore understand that this is a magic proposition that cannot be duplicated once in ten thousand times, if at all.

The demands on modern business are tremendously exacting. You may study any standard business which is successful and you will find that every man employed in that business, from the highest to the lowest, must put forth his greatest effort in order that the business may show such results as will make its perpetuation possible.

Effective and scientific profit-sharing which increases the standard of efficiency, which promotes loyalty and permanency of organi zation, which creates that sort of good will between employer and employee that tends to increase human happiness, is sound and profitable.

Profit-sharing is being tried out by many enterprises, large and small. In proportion to the success which they attain under its operation will its broader application be assured.

It is a certainty that profit-sharing must be worked out by each organization in an efficient, effective, and common-sense manner, within the earning capacity of the enterprise, and it must be applied in a manner to suit the needs of the business and the varied types of men who compose its working forces. We must, however, remember that the earning capacity of business which must be drawn upon for profit-sharing fluctuates from failure to zero, and from zero to Mr. Ford's millions, but that in the average run of successful business the needle moves very slowly after it passes six, seven, and eight per cent in net profit.

Your editorial comment makes the further statement that "The Outlook is deeply interested in Mr. Ford's experiment because it has for many years contended that co-operation between capital and labor in some form of just, practical, and genuine profit-sharing can afford the only real and permanent settlement of labor troubles, and the only safeguard against State Socialism, with the consequent destruction of private initiative, private genius, and private enterprise."

I agree with you fully in this statement; but to secure that very desirable relation between capital and labor to which you refer there are many things needed in industrial life of equal or greater importance than profit-sharing, such as the creating of good working and living conditions, caring for the injured, accident prevention, education of employees affecting their efficiency and earning power, the creation of good social conditions in order that they may live happily and give their children proper advantages. All of these things require time, effort, and much money, and they are being practiced much more generally than is known, and their promotion is in the ascendency.

There are instances where the doing of such things means more to the community than would the actual distribution of extra cash dividends to employees; there are other instances where the distribution of *one per cent* of the profits of a business may represent a greater degree of liberality and humaneness than does Mr. Ford's *fifty per cent.*

If Mr. Ford's magic success and his daring liberality tend to bring about universal profit-sharing on any sound basis, his well-advertised action will do good. If, on the other hand, his unheard-of ability and liberal-

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ity tend to make labor entertain hope of such universal wealth, it will be but the building up of a false hope that will do much harm.

II—ITS MERITS

BY LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

PRESIDENT OF THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

With much of Mr. Verity's very interesting communication I agree; with some of it I disagree. Without, however, attempting to reply in detail to Mr. Verity's article, I shall take the occasion which it affords to state the views of the Outlook Company upon profit-sharing.

Carroll D. Wright in one of his very able Government reports on labor (Seventeenth Massachusetts Labor Statistics Report) divides profit-sharing into three classes:

First, a share of the profits in lieu of wages.

Second, a share of the profits in addition to the prevailing market rate of wages.

Third, stock ownership by the workmen expressly provided for by the constitution and by-laws of the corporation.

The first form is co-operation, like working a farm on shares, or dividing, on some agreed-upon scale, the proceeds of a catch of fish, as the Gloucester fishermen used to do; it is really not profit-sharing, but *product-sharing*.

The third form is applicable only in large corporations, like the United States Steel Corporation, in which it has been developed to a high degree of success.

It is the second form which is of most general, permanent, and practical application; it can be adopted by a corporation, a partnership, or a single employer. It is the form which the Outlook Company has employed in its own business for several years, and with which, therefore, I am personally familiar. It is this definition of profit-sharing which is taken as the basis of the present article.

Profit-sharing is not a charity. The employer who regards it as an act of philanthropy or generosity on his part is sure to fail. The only true way to put profit-sharing into practice is to give the wage-worker his share of the profits exactly in the same spirit and substantially by the same methods that are followed in giving the stockholder his share.

Welfare work is admirably defined by Mr. Verity as "the creating of good working and living conditions, caring for the injured, accident prevention, education of employees affecting their efficiency and earning power, the creation of good social conditions in order that they may live happily and give their children proper advantages."

But welfare work is not a substitute for profit-sharing; nor should the introduction of a system of profit-sharing lessen the desire of the factory or workshop manager to maintain the right kind of welfare work. Corporations do not say to their stockholders that they will pay them dividends after they learn to send their children to school and use bath-tubs. The corporation manager wants his neighbors to send their children to school and to use bath-tubs, but his work of social and civic improvement in the community in which he lives is done entirely apart from his dividend-paying. Many employers of labor are perfectly sincere in their wish to promote the welfare of their employees and cannot understand why their efforts are so often received thanklessly if not resentfully. Let us try this welfare attitude toward the stockholder as an experiment and see how he will take it!

The American wage-worker believes that a share in the profits of business belongs rightfully to labor. He feels about it exactly as the American stockholder feels about it. Until the corporation manager understands this simple psychology of the problem he will fail in attempting profit-sharing on the paternal basis.

If a share of the profits is to be given to the wage-workers as their right, the next step is to discover a method which is of universal application—or at least of as nearly universal application as the method by which the stockholder receives his share of the profits.

I think there is such a method—plain, simple, and easy to put into operation. It is what the political economists call the method of paying a "wages dividend." The wages of a mechanic in the Ford factory or any other factory or corporation are the token or symbol of the labor which he has contributed to the corporation, just as a stock certificate is the token or symbol of the capital which the

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stockholder has contributed to the corporation. In calculating the amount of profit which the wage-worker in a corporation may receive in a "wages dividend," the total amount of his wages for the year may be regarded as representing the stock or element of value contributed by him to the corporation. The directors of a corporation when they declare a "wages dividend" may arbitrarily set aside a part of the profits and divide that part among the wage-workers in proportion to their wages just as though they were stockholders.

Let us suppose that the total wages paid a year by a corporation amounts to $200,000 and that the directors in declaring their stockholders' dividend decide at the same time to set aside $10,000 of the year's profits as a "wages dividend." It will readily be seen that the dividend rate on wages will then be five per cent, and every employee of the concern will receive as a dividend five per cent of the total amount of wages paid to him during the year. If an office boy has worked for the concern three months at twenty dollars a month, he will get a dividend of three dollars. If an expert mechanic has worked three hundred days at six dollars a day, he will get ninety dollars.

If it be said that this method gives arbitrary power to the Board of Directors, it may be replied that the Board of Directors has arbitrary power as to the rate of dividend paid the stockholders. The only defect in the analogy is that the stockholders can remove the Board of Directors and the wage-workers cannot.

I do not, however, assert that the analogy is perfect. All I claim is that profit-sharing may be introduced easily and simply in any concern that is making any profits whatever, provided the owners are willing to set aside any portion of their profits to make the experiment. In my judgment, the defect of the system adopted by the Ford Motor Company is that they have paid their workmen's profits to them in the form of weekly wages instead of in the form of a quarterly, semi-annual, or annual "wages dividend." The psychological effect of increasing wages is to make the wage-worker feel that the wage standard has been permanently raised. He should really feel, as the stockholder should feel, that his wages dividend may go up or down with the success of the company.

It is said that if the workman receives his wages dividend in a large lump sum he will spend it in riotous living. Well, what if he does? Do we expect the Pennsylvania Railroad to watch the individual stockholder in order to see that, when he gets his dividend check, he does not go to his club and spend it on a champagne supper? Of course it is the right and the duty of the corporation to insist that its workmen shall be clean, educated, and sober; but so it must insist that its stockholding directors shall be clean, educated, and sober. Let us treat our wage-workers and, what is more difficult, *think of them* exactly as we treat and think of our stockholders, and many of the difficulties of profit-sharing will disappear.

Profit-sharing was introduced into the modern industrial world in 1842 by Leclaire, a French house-painter and decorator who employed three hundred men. The firm which he founded for many years practiced the following method: After paying five per cent to capital, it divided the profits of the business into four equal parts, of which one part went to capital, one part to a Mutual Aid Society of employees—that is, to welfare work—and two parts to the workmen as a wages dividend. It is of course conceivable that the State might determine that this should be the legal and enforceable method of profit-sharing. Applied to a million-dollar corporation paying total annual wages of five hundred thousand dollars and earning net profits of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, it would work out like this:

THE LECLAIRE METHOD

Paid-in capital	$1,000,000	
Total wages	500,000	
Total net profits		$120,000
Less interest to capital at 6%		60,000
Net amount for distribution		$60,000
One quarter to Mutual Aid or Welfare Work	$15,000	
One quarter to capital as stock dividend	15,000	
Two quarters to employees as wages dividend	30,000	$60,000

Rate of interest or dividend on stock, 7½%; rate of wages dividend, 6%.

EXAMPLES

James Smith, laborer, worked 300 days at $2, = $600. Dividend at 6%	$36 00
George Brown, shop foreman, worked 12 months at $150 = $1,800. Dividend at 6%	108 00
Ella Robinson, stenographer, worked 52 weeks at $15 = $780. Dividend at 6%.	46 80
Billy Jones, office boy, worked 20 weeks at $6 = $120. Dividend at 6%	7 20
E. J. Leclaire, Vice-president and General Manager, annual salary $6,000. Dividend at 6%	360 00

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The stockholders will get, it will be seen, a return of 7½% instead of 12% on their stock, but they will also get a contented, interested, and efficient body of employees; they will, in all probability, avoid the cost and anxiety of strikes, and they will have the comfortable feeling that comes from living on a basis of justice and fair dealing with one's neighbors—a comfort that is worth paying for.

I do not, however, wish to be understood as advocating profit-sharing enforced by law. One step at a time is sufficient, and voluntary profit-sharing is the first step. The Ford Company have set a wise and workable example in fixing arbitrarily the total amount which their directors deem it proper to give to the wage-workers as their share of profits. Their error has been in distributing it in the weekly pay envelope. It should be distributed among the wage-workers in quarterly, semi-annual, or annual dividends at a rate per cent, just as the stockholders' profits are distributed to the stockholders.

A successful history of sixty years shows that wherever this general view of profit-sharing is adopted, wherever it is regarded as simple financial justice and not as a gracious form of philanthropy, it proves to be a practical success.

Those who care to study the history of profit-sharing are referred to the following authorities: "Profit-Sharing," by Sedley Taylor, London, 1884; "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," by D. F. Schloss, London, 1894; "Profit-Sharing," by N. P. Gilman, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1892; "Dividend to Labor," by N. P. Gilman, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1900; article on "Profit-Sharing," Encyclopædia Britannica, Eleventh Edition.

CHILE AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

CHILE is one of the countries in which there has been much misconception of the Monroe Doctrine, a misconception largely due to the fact that the United States in its turn has utterly misunderstood Chile and failed to appreciate the really great qualities that Chile possesses. Moreover, the unwise citizens of our own country who write essays to the effect that the Monroe Doctrine is dead, or who defile the National honor by false assertions as to our conduct in acquiring Panama, do all they can to further this misconception and to bring us into disrepute. Finally, mischief is done by the men who talk with loud insolence about all "Latin America," making no distinction between stable and self-respecting countries, on the one hand, and, on the other, some utterly impotent and anarchic little so-called republics in tropical America.

It is important, both for the United States and for Chile, that neither the one nor the other shall identify Chile with these impotent and anarchical little tropical American commonwealths. It is, for instance, very important that the United States shall not ignorantly and stupidly look down on Chile because Colombia behaved badly; and, on the other hand, that Chile shall not encourage this very regrettable attitude by making common cause with Colombia. No two states of the civilized world are more fundamentally different than Chile and Colombia. Chile has a right to rank on a footing of full equality with the United States, England, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, and Switzerland; in short, with all self-respecting free nations. Colombia as yet has no such right. There are charming, high-bred, and cultivated people in Colombia, just as there are in Egypt, for instance; but the action of Colombia as a governmental unit was such as to render the action of the United States in Panama as inevitable and as justifiable as the interference of England in Egypt and the Sudan twenty years before. The interference, in one case as in the other, was enormously to the benefit of civilization as a whole, and, moreover, was enormously to the benefit of the country over which civilization was thereby extended.

The far-seeing public men of Chile already thoroughly understood the fundamental need of the Monroe Doctrine, and, moreover, thoroughly understood the propriety and necessity of our having acted exactly as we did act in Panama. But there were certain men in Chile, corresponding precisely to the similar

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men at home, who were not clear on either subject. It was therefore with real pleasure that I took advantage of the opportunity to set forth the views which I held and which, I believe, represented the views of my countrymen on this subject. It came at a great meeting at the beautiful Municipal Opera-House in Santiago.

One of the addresses of welcome was by Professor Vargas on the history of Chile. The other was by a noted writer and public man, Senator Bulnes, the son of a great Chilean statesman. The Senator, with singular justness and fair-mindedness, touched on the question of the relations of the United States with her sister republics. He showed fair-minded understanding of the policy of the United States, together with a keen sense of national self-respect which found expression in the words, "Chile loves peace, but is not afraid of war." In his address he particularly dwelt upon the advantage to all America of our action in Panama, saying: "Your name is associated with a great work of progress, which will be of especial benefit to Chile—the piercing of the Isthmus of Panama. We Chileans owe you gratitude for this great work, which has placed our national house on the new highway of world-intercourse, and has opened a new and wide door through which our country will come into close contact with the material wealth and the fund of common knowledge and morality of the civilized world." I answered as follows:

"I have been greatly interested in the learned address by Mr. Vargas on the history of Chile. I have already been fairly familiar with that history; for when I was doing my part in preparing my own country for war, at the time that I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley, I studied with minute attention Chilean military and naval history. Among the many things that I have enjoyed here in Chile, one of the chief has been the chance of seeing the admirable work of the officers and enlisted men of the Chilean army, and I look forward to getting at least a glimpse of the Chilean navy. I am acquainted with the really notable poem of Ercilla. I was already aware of the remarkable character of the Araucania Indian. I recognize to the full the high value of the new ethnological entity arising in Chile from the mixture of the two virile types, that of the Spanish Conquistadores and of the valiant Indian by whom Chile was originally populated. The ruling class, I was also aware, included not only these men of pure descent from the early Spanish conquerors, but also many men descended from the Biscayan and other newcomers of a very high type who came thither in the eighteenth century.

"I also wish to thank most sincerely the distinguished and eloquent orator and public man, Senator Bulnes, who has just addressed you. I deeply appreciate his courteous references, not only to myself, but to the great republic of which I am a citizen. And, moreover, I cordially agree with the entire tone and tenor of his address. Certain of the allusions he has made, notably to the Monroe Doctrine, and of the questions which he has so courteously put, and the wishes he has uttered, make it proper and desirable that I should myself speak on the points to which he alludes.

"We republics of the Western Hemisphere are working out the democratic experiment on a far vaster scale then has ever been attempted anywhere else in the world. We are meeting many new problems, and though we act with certain advantages in our favor, we also suffer under certain disadvantages. Moreover, each of us, each republic, yours, mine, each among all the other American nations of importance, has made certain failures and certain successes that were peculiarly its own, and each has something to learn from as well as to teach every other. For example, the nation to which I belong handled the whole question of slavery very much worse than it was handled by any other free republic of the entire Western world. Again, it was my own nation which, in solving the problem of slavery, was brought to the verge of destruction by four years of civil war, during which it became impotent to aid its sister republics of the New World, or to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, or in any shape or way to be of service to mankind, or to secure respect for itself among the nations of the earth. I hold that, normally, each nation can do best by concerning itself with its own faults and shortcomings, and not with the faults and shortcomings of others, and that each of our nations should find its chief work in advancing the cause of social and industrial betterment among its own people at home; and that it should endeavor always to deal with other nations in a spirit of justice, of courtesy, of consideration and forbearance.

"But there are other duties, less important, and nevertheless of great importance.

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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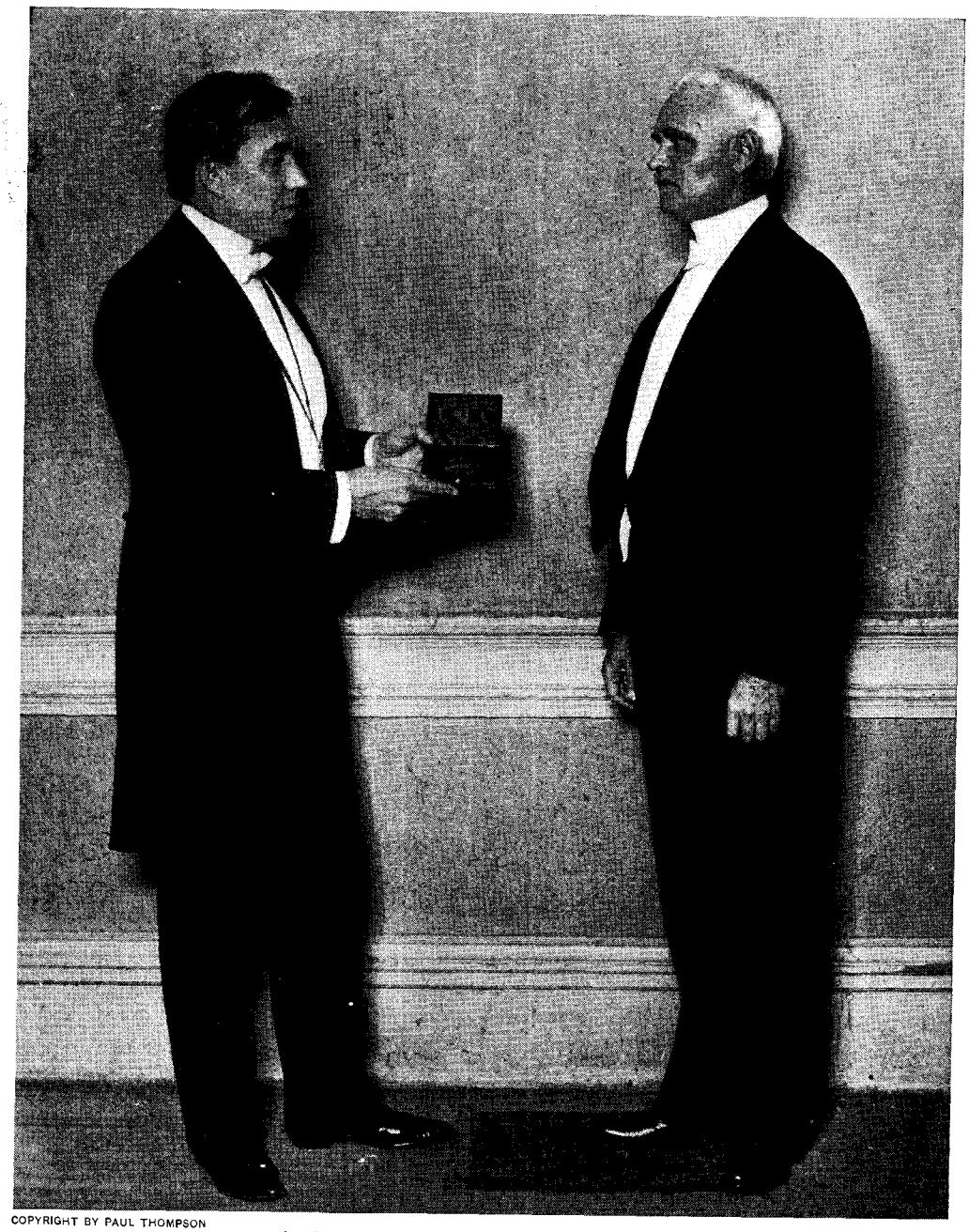
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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A GREAT ENGINEER HONORED

Colonel George W. Goethals receiving the Civic Forum medal from the hands of John H. Finley, head of the Educational System of New York State, in recognition of Colonel Goethals's services in building the Panama Canal
The medal is reproduced on the next page

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MEDAL, DESIGNED BY PAUL MANSHIP, PRESENTED BY THE CIVIC FORUM TO COLONEL GOETHALS IN NEW YORK CITY IN RECOGNITION OF HIS ACHIEVEMENT IN CONSTRUCTING THE PANAMA CANAL

PHOTOGRAPH BY G. W. BUCK

THE WHITE HOUSE FRAMED IN WHITE

Washington shared in the tardy snowfall that made the termination of the winter of 1913–14 memorable for its severity

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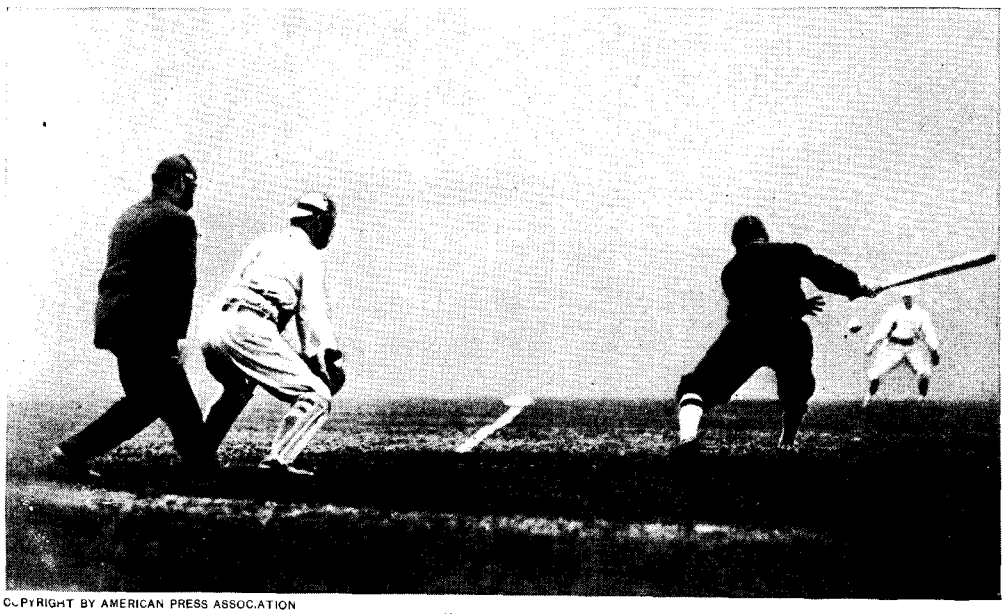
KING GEORGE WATCHES THE GAME



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A "SHORT HIT"

OUR NATIONAL GAME PLAYED IN ENGLAND BY "GIANTS" AND "WHITE SOX"

These two American teams played in London before a great crowd, at the end of their tour around the world. Some incidents of the game are described elsewhere in this issue

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I. W. W. AGITATORS IN THE HANDS OF THE POLICE AFTER INVADING A CHURCH

The city of New York, while keeping open a bureau of employment for jobless men, has suppressed organized disorder by agitators

THE UNEMPLOYED IN NEW YORK CITY

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PHOTOGRAPH BY C. U. WILLIAMS

"BILLY" SUNDAY, THE EVANGELIST

A typical pose caught by the camera during one of his evangelistic addresses
See editorial comment on Mr. Sunday's recent New York address

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WILLIAM S. BENTON

The Englishman who met his death at the hands of Villa, the Mexican revolutionist. His case involved international questions of the gravest character

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

GOVERNOR COLQUITT, OF TEXAS

The Governor of Texas has become a prominent figure in the Mexican troubles, owing to the fact that Texas is almost "on the firing line" of the disturbances, and to the frequent crossing of the border by warlike parties of Texans or Mexicans

Elsewhere in this issue will be found comment on the Mexican situation

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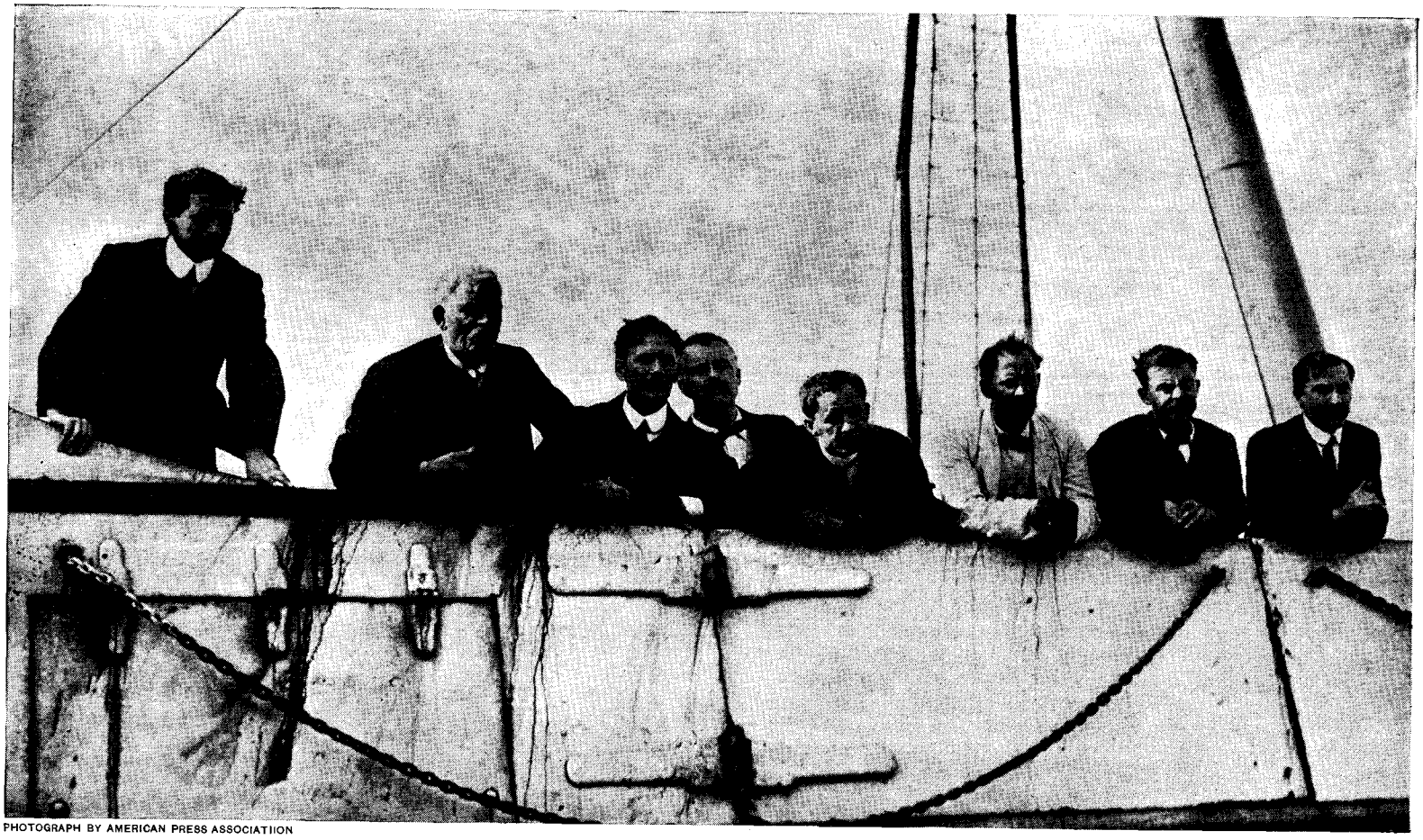

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SOUTH AFRICA'S PLAN FOR SOLVING THE LABOR PROBLEM—SHIPPING THE AGITATORS TO ENGLAND

The photograph shows the labor leaders who were deported from Johannesburg; they are on the steamer Ungeni, on their way, unwillingly, to England, as already stated in The Outlook. They are reported to have sung "The Red Flag," the Socialist campaign song, just after this picture was taken

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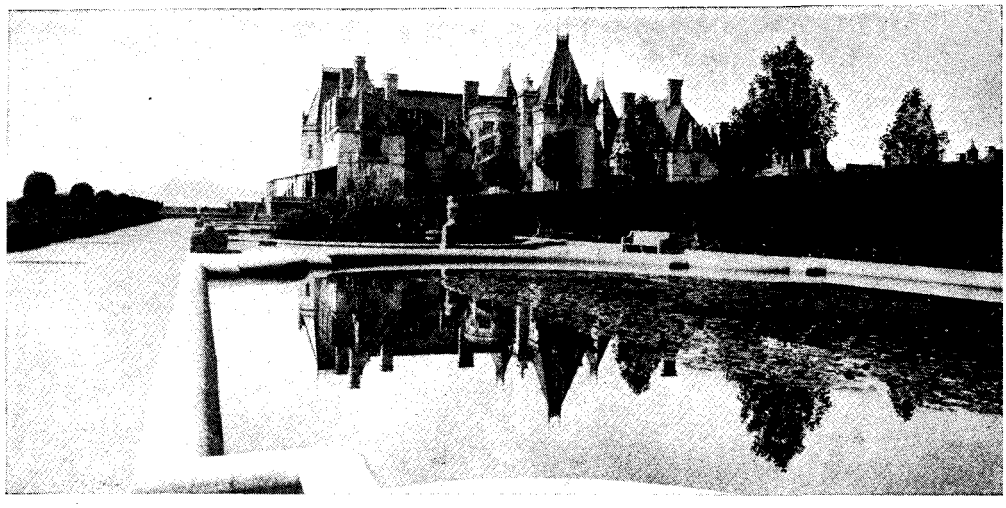
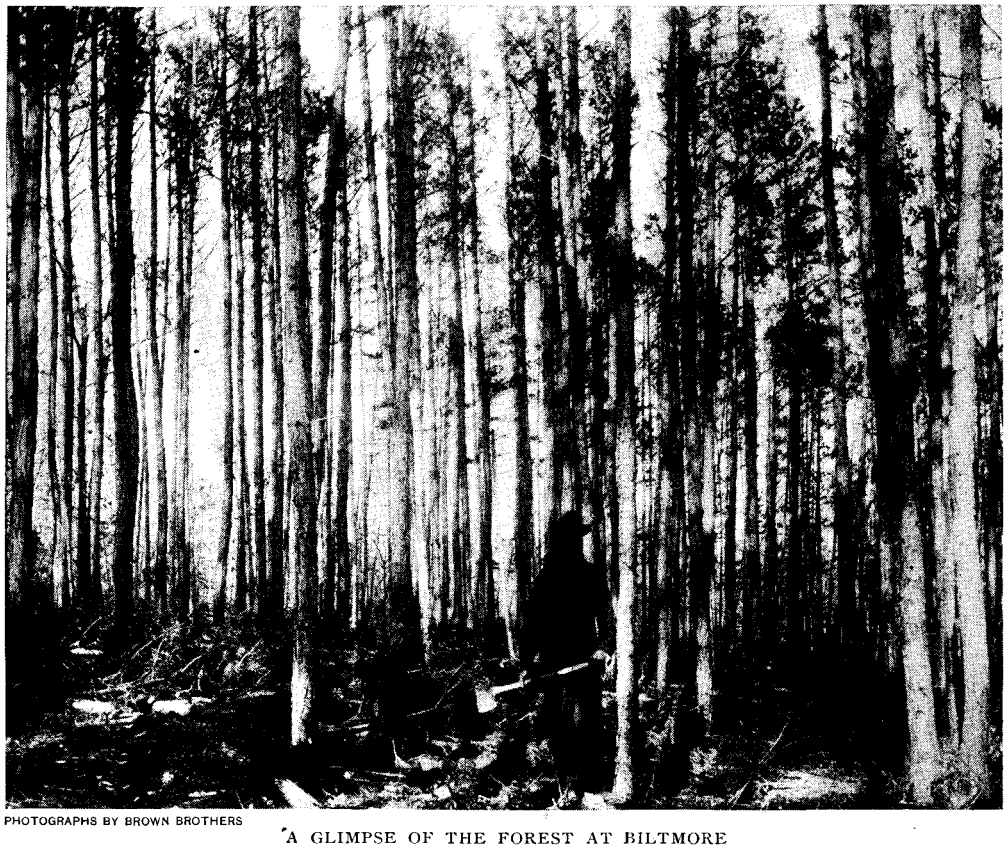


THE RESIDENCE



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BROWN BROTHERS

A GLIMPSE OF THE FOREST AT BILTMORE

THE ESTATE OF THE LATE GEORGE W. VANDERBILT

Biltmore has been an arboricultural object-lesson of real value to the local community and to the wider public
See editorial comment in connection with the recent death of Mr. Vanderbilt

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There must be international relations. I hold that these relations between nations should be handled on the same plane as the relations between individuals. The same principles should apply in one case as in the other, although the methods of achieving the principles must differ because international law does not exist in the sense that municipal law or law within each nation exists; for there is no law in any real sense unless there is both a judge to declare the law and a representative of the police power able and ready to put that declaration into execution.

"I speak to a gallant people, a proud and patriotic people, with a great military record, with a fine army and navy. Therefore I am certain of being understood when I say that an honorable private man will indignantly refuse to wrong others, and will also himself refuse tamely to submit to wrong by others. In similar fashion, an honorable nation, a free nation, fit to do its part in the world-wide struggle for civilization, for liberty, for order, and for the only peace worth having, the peace of righteousness, must both be able and ready to defend itself against wrong-doing, and also be proudly eager never to wrong others.

"In addition to our duties as members of the great family of civilized nations throughout the world, we of the Western Hemisphere have certain special interests of our own. A hundred years ago the only American nation that had achieved independence was the United States of the North. Ninety years ago the other free nations had just begun their independent careers. As yet they were wholly unable to speak with authority abroad. At that time, and for many years afterwards, even the United States could not always make itself heard by Old World powers, and it was listened to at all only when it spoke with the utmost decision, while at that time no other American power received any heed whatever. It was under these circumstances that the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. This Doctrine was perfectly simple. It declared that the soil of the Western Hemisphere was no longer to be treated as a subject for territorial conquest or acquisition by Old World powers. I wish you to remember just what the Monroe Doctrine is. If any man tells you that it is dead, ask him if he really means that Old World powers are to be permitted to acquire territory by conquest or colonization in the Western Hemisphere. Unless he so believes, he cannot assert that the Doctrine is dead. So far from its being dead, I think it is a great deal more alive than ever before. I believe that there is less chance than ever before of the American nations permitting any species of conquest or colonization on this continent by Old World powers. Moreover, I believe that the time has now come when the Doctrine in reality has the guarantee not only of the United States, my own country, but of your country, Chile, and of every other American nation which has risen to a sufficient point of economic well-being, of stable and orderly government, of power to do justice to others and to exact justice from others, and therefore of potential armed strength, to enable it thus to act as a guarantor of the Doctrine.

"In other words, keep these two facts distinctly in your minds: (1) the Doctrine itself, (2) the question as to who the guarantor or guarantors of that Doctrine shall be. I am wholly unable to understand how any far-sighted patriot of the two Americas could fail to recognize the vital importance of the Doctrine to the liberty and well-being of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The only differences that can arise are as to the methods of its enforcement and as to who shall be its guarantors. On those points there must of necessity be change as conditions change.

"When the Doctrine was promulgated, the United States was the only power able to secure any respect whatever for it from the Old World nations. Without armed strength back of it the Monroe Doctrine is not worth the paper on which it is written or the breath of the orators who speak it. It was at the beginning rendered respectable only because back of it lay the army and navy of the United States. When in 1861 our Civil War broke out, and we became powerless to secure respect from other nations in international matters, while no South American nation had yet advanced to a degree that would enable it to take our place, the Monroe Doctrine vanished into thin air. Old World nations at once began a course of conquest and aggression on the American continent, and a foreign empire was established immediately south of the United States. When the Civil War ended, and the United States once more became a power able to speak with self-respect in international affairs, that foreign empire at once crumbled to dust and ashes.

"During all this early period various

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causes, to which the two eminent speakers who have preceded me have alluded, combined to keep the nations of Southern and Central America weak and to retard their growth to influence and power. But within the last quarter of a century there has been a great change. Certain republics have achieved a position of assured and orderly liberty. These republics do justice to other peoples. To them there has come a great material prosperity and a moral growth such as to make them in character and in potential strength fit to handle their own Monroe Doctrine, or, to speak more accurately, fit to act as co-guarantors of the Doctrine. Your own Republic of Chile is one of those republics.

"In short, the Doctrine is as emphatically a living doctrine to-day as it ever was; but for many years after it was promulgated it was of necessity a unilateral doctrine because only one country had power to enforce it. Now other nations of the Western Hemisphere have come to a position where by international conduct and by strength they are entitled to stand on a full equality with the United States in this as in all other matters.

"As yet, unfortunately, there still remain other nations in the Western Hemisphere of which this assertion cannot truthfully be made. As long as a nation is from any cause, and especially from chronic revolution and anarchy, reduced to a condition in which she is impotent to perform her duties toward others, or to exact the performance by others of their duties toward her, then it is a waste of words to pretend that what does not exist does exist. It is untruthful folly to assert that it is possible for the United States, or for any other great nation, to treat an anarchic and wrong-doing country on a footing of real and full equality of which I have above spoken as representing that plane of conduct which should characterize all the dealings between my nation and your own, and my nation and certain other South American republics. I hope, and I am reasonably confident, that the less advanced nations of the New World will in their turn gradually advance just as my nation and yours, as well as certain others, have already advanced. As soon as any such nation in the course of its advance reaches a position of self-respecting strength and orderly liberty and achieved power to do and to exact justice, then it should at once step out from any position of tutelage in any respect. Then as regards it likewise the Monroe Doctrine should be treated as no longer a unilateral doctrine, but one in the upholding of which this nation herself shall take part as an equal among equals. I hope, and I believe, that ultimately the day will come when this will be true of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere. When that day comes, the Monroe Doctrine, in the sense of being a unilateral doctrine, enforced only by the United States, will entirely disappear. It will remain as much as ever a doctrine to be believed in and enforced, but it will be enforced by all the nations of the Western Hemisphere as co-guarantors on a footing of equality.

"The Doctrine partly represents the self-interest of each nation, and partly the disinterested belief that it is essentially in the interest of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. When promulgated by the United States, and as since adopted and followed by the United States, it had, and has always since had, and ought always to have, both of these bases of justification. The United States in its own interest cannot afford to see a great Old World military power acquire territory on this continent. Moreover, the United States, from disinterested friendship for the rest of the free peoples of this continent, must also object to seeing any of their territory thus acquired. This, after all, is simply to feel as every other nation on this continent would feel. Chile could no more afford to tolerate conquest by some Old World military power on or near her northern border than we could afford to tolerate such conquest on or near our southern border.

"At the present day, then, so far as the United States is concerned, the Doctrine must still be one of unilateral enforcement in regions where her interests are vital, and where unfortunately no other American nation has achieved a position of such stable and orderly power as to enable it to be a co-guarantor of the Doctrine.

"This applies to the lands, both continental and insular, which cover the approaches to the Panama Canal. The time had come when it was imperatively necessary that that Canal should be built. The United States ought not to, and, in my judgment, will not, permit any great Old World power to establish itself along the line of approach to the Canal. This is not only vitally important to the United States, but it is also eminently to the interest of the other New World nations. For example, your own nation, Chile, will, I believe, be benefited at least as much

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as the United States itself by the building of that Canal—which I may remark parenthetically would not have been built at all if I had not acted precisely and exactly as I did act.

"And, men and women of Chile, let me here use the admirable words with which Senator Bulnes has truthfully described the attitude of your own republic. I too love peace, but it is because I love justice and not because I am afraid of war. I took the action I did in Panama because to have acted otherwise would have been both weak and wicked. I would have taken that action no matter what power had stood in the way. What I did was in the interest of all the world, and was particularly in the interests of Chile and of certain other South American countries. It was in accordance with the highest and strictest dictates of justice. If it were a matter to do over again, I would act precisely and exactly as I in very fact did act.

"We of the United States are solemnly pledged to administer the Panama Canal in the equal interest of all the nations of mankind, and we are pledged to defend it by our army and our navy, by fortifications, and by ships along the Canal and along the lines of approach to the Canal. Therefore we are obliged to see that the Monroe Doctrine applies in full to the territory controlling the approaches to the Canal, and this both because of our own vital interest in the matter, and especially because as yet no other power along the approach is able to act as a co-guarantor.

"But in other parts of South America there are nations such as your own, such as Chile, which have now reached a position that entitles them to stand on a footing of exact equality in all international relations with the United States. I believe that they have the right to expect such treatment.

"Now, gentlemen, as you know, I believe that words are worse than useless except as they represent or are translated into actual deeds. I ask you to judge what I now say about the proper attitude of the United States in foreign relations by what I actually did when I was President. My host, your fellow-citizen and distinguished public servant, Senator Walker-Martinez, was Minister from Chile to Washington during my term. He can tell you of his own knowledge from the inside that I strove my best throughout those years to act in a spirit of the most cordial and genuine friendship and justice towards all our fellow-republics in the New World. He can tell you this specifically in reference to Chile. When I said a thing I meant it, and I acted on it. When, in response to the unanimously expressed wish of the Pan-American Congress, I said that the time had come to build an Isthmian Canal, I meant it, and I saw to t that the words were translated into deeds. When, on the other hand, my country had promised that Cuba should be a free and independent republic, I saw that the promise was kept. The Cuban Minister here in this city can tell you all about our relations with Cuba. All I wished of Cuba, as of each one of our Central American neighbors, was that she should be stable and prosperous. All I did was to try to help her to achieve such stability and prosperity as enabled me to see that every representative of the United States, civil or military, left her during my term of service so that she could begin her career as a sovereign and independent republic."

I then instanced the facts in the case of Santo Domingo as stated in my article on "South America and the Monroe Doctrine" [The Outlook of March 14] and continued:

"I do not believe that the United States should meddle in its neighbors' affairs, when such meddling can possibly be avoided. While I was President, I declined to interfere in any disputes between any nations on this continent or elsewhere unless both the nations asked me to aid in settling their differences. We never acted toward any other nation save as our own self-respect demanded; and if the other nation showed respect for itself and for us, we showed it respect in return. These are the principles upon which I believe that the foreign policy of my country should be founded. Specifically, I desire the United States and Chile to treat each the other on a footing of absolute equality, and of self-respect, combined with respect for the rights of the other. The essentials of the Monroe Doctrine are vital to the welfare of all our people in the Western Hemisphere. Chile has achieved a position where she is entitled herself to stand as one of the guarantors of that Doctrine. I hail her advent to this position of assured international power and dignity, and I am glad to be the guest of her hard-working and valiant people to-night."

The sentiments which I expressed in this speech were in effect exactly the sentiments upon which while I was President I had

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acted. The chairman of the committee of reception in Chile was Mr. Walker-Martinez, who had been Chilean Minister at Washington during most of the time that I was President. My relations with Mr. Walker-Martinez had been close. I had found while I was President that I could trust implicitly his loyalty and discretion, and that, moreover, he and I looked at the fundamental questions of foreign policy from the same standpoint. Accordingly I used to discuss freely with him the methods of application of the Monroe Doctrine. He and I both felt that it was imperative that the Monroe Doctrine should be retained, but that the methods of application must of necessity change with the changing conditions, and especially with the growth in South America of such stable, orderly, and powerful national units as Chile, the Argentine, and Brazil.

I had discussed at some length with Mr. Walker-Martinez the possibility of getting these three powers to join with the United States—and Mexico, which then was in a condition of stability and apparent prosperity, from which, alas! it has now completely retrograded—in securing order in certain disorderly Central American countries which we were anxious to protect from European aggression. Specifically, I discussed this matter with him in order to lay the grounds for future action at a time when it seemed that I might have to interfere as regards Venezuela. This was about January, 1906. When the question immediately at issue concerned Santo Domingo, I told Mr. Walker-Martinez in full the reasons for my action in the case, he being one of the foreign diplomats who was informed of all the circumstances. At that time I told him that if Santo Domingo had been in the Pacific I should have asked the Chilean Government to undertake the task which we were undertaking—using the expression that, in such event, as soon as the Chilean ships appeared off the island ours would retire.

There was a peculiar appropriateness in making this speech in just the place I did. The time had come when it was necessary clearly to restate the Monroe Doctrine as changing events had rendered it necessary that it should be restated. In Chile the educational system is excellent, and many students from Central American states come thither. Most naturally, these students tend to ask that their states be treated on a full equality with Chile. They cannot be so treated until they show themselves worthy of the treatment. By effort, by sober determination, by steadfast exercise of will power and self-respect, Chile has raised herself so that she stands in the front rank of civilized powers, among such powers as those, whether of big population or not, to which I have alluded above. When any tropical American state at any time raises itself in similar fashion to such a level, it will be the duty of the United States, no less than of Chile, promptly and heartily to recognize that fact, and thenceforth to treat that state as one equal treats another.

As with everything else in life, facts are what count, and words are of use only so far as they represent the facts. It is of no use whatever for well-meaning but misguided representatives of these states inexcusably to assert, or for less well-meaning people at home inexcusably to assert, that these states are to be treated on a full equality with great stable civilized powers until they show themselves fit for such treatment. Let them by sustained effort prove their worth, and then it will become the highest duty of the United States to give fullest and most generous recognition of the fact.

At the time of my visit to Chile the Colombian Government had sent to its diplomatic representatives in Chile a published circular which really amounted to an incitement to make demonstrations against me. In Chile a few Colombian students and citizens endeavored to carry out the spirit of these instructions by shouting "*Viva Mexico!*" and "*Viva Colombia!*" on public occasions. In its circular the Colombian Government quoted with satisfaction some of the untrue assertions in the campaign utterances of the present Vice-President of the United States. The equal readiness with which the Colombians cheered for Colombia and for Mexico showed their entire indifference as to whether the controversy with the United States was due to President Wilson's action or to mine; they did not care a rap for the rights of the case; they cheered Mexico with the same enthusiasm as Colombia merely because each represented hostility to the United States.

It is an entire mistake to suppose, as some well-meaning people assert, that the assertion by the United States of the Monroe Doctrine, or its display of power, has hurt it in its dealings with South America. To be offensive, to be rude, or to adopt a bullying attitude in the name of that Doctrine of course does hurt the United States; simply because

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rudeness and bad manners and bullying are always damaging, without regard to the exciting cause. But no nation in the world now can, or does, receive respectful treatment from others unless it possesses the virile virtues, and no nation can affect to play a great part in the world unless it possesses potential strength and the will and the ability to use that strength in defense of its own rights and in defense of the cause of justice should the need arise. The voyage of the American battle fleet round the world helped the cause of peace, helped the honor of the American name, a hundred times more than all the peace conferences in which American representatives have ever taken part.

I wish that the good people who so often because of imperfect information follow unwise people into the ultra-peace movements could realize the damage they thereby do the United States in the eyes of sensible men abroad. If only they would face facts and make up their minds to test words by deeds the result would be of incalculable benefit to our people. At this moment far-seeing and self-respecting South American statesmen have been put in a very uncomfortable position by the request to have all American nations sign an agreement for obligatory arbitration about all difficulties. Naturally, they think that the United States cannot be honest in making such a request—and indeed those who make the request can prove their honesty only by admitting their folly. At the moment that the request is made the American Government has been following a course with regard to Mexico which either means that war between the two nations is a likelihood over matters which cannot be submitted to arbitration, or else that the action of the American Government has been one of humiliating bluff and insincerity. These South American statesmen feel that as long as it is evident that the United States neither could nor would submit its own attitude as regards Mexico to arbitration it is insincere and improper for it to ask other nations to join in making a promise which, at the moment, the United States is repudiating, and which in time of national need every other strong and self-respecting American commonwealth would be obliged to repudiate.

It was announced the other day in the South American press that the United States was about to agree to a treaty with Denmark which should provide that all questions, even those affecting national honor and interest, should hereafter be arbitrated. Under such a treaty Denmark would have the perfect right to sell the island of St. Thomas to any great military nation of Europe, and any arbitral court would decide that she had the right. Yet no patriotic American of courage and sound intelligence would hesitate for a moment to say that, treaty or no treaty, such action could not be tolerated by the United States. In the same way, if Mexico chose to sell Magdalena Bay to some great Old World power, any arbitration court would decide that Mexico had the right to do so. Yet it would be a criminal act for the United States to permit such a sale. As regards St. Thomas and as regards Magdalena Bay alike, not only would the Monroe Doctrine forbid the transfer of either to any foreign power, but, even if it did not, and if no such doctrine were in existence, the United States, if it possessed the slightest wisdom, could not permit such transfer to take place. It is worse than folly, it is mischievous hypocrisy, to make promises which ought not to be and would not be kept.

Nor is this all. At the very moment when I write, the Senate of the United States is holding up two proper arbitration treaties which ought to be continued, and the Administration is not submitting to arbitration one question which we are asked to arbitrate, and which under these treaties we are pledged to arbitrate. We expose ourselves to the derision of all serious-minded and upright men when, at the very time when we fail to carry out and to continue the moderate arbitration treaties already made, we yet profess our willingness to enter into new and far more sweeping arbitration treaties which every sane man knows that we would violate, and would be obliged to violate, if the occasion for their fulfillment ever arose. The United States can keep the respect of other nations and can continue to do good in the world only if it keeps up the navy and army of the United States at the very least at their present pitch of preparedness and efficiency relative to other nations; only if it acts with justice and high-mindedness toward other nations; and only if it refrains from putting itself in the humiliating and hypocritical attitude of making foolish and improper promises, the making of which is inconsistent with National self-respect, and which, if made, would have to be repudiated because of imperative National need if ever the question of their serious application arose.

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"FIVE BROTHERS" OR "TRUST TRIPLETS"?

A VITAL ISSUE BETWEEN DEMOCRATS AND PROGRESSIVES

BY DONALD R. RICHBERG

DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PARTY

THE introduction of the Administration bills for the regulation of inter-State business has served to clarify a few fundamental issues between the "progressive Democracy" of President Wilson and the Progressive party. Between the philosophy that produced the Clayton "Five Brothers" (Democratic) and that of the Murdock "Trust Triplets" (Progressive) there is a gulf which cannot be straddled.

Yet each party approached the drafting of legislation from a common recognition of the need for governmental action—(1) to remove the protections of secrecy from illegitimate business; (2) to eradicate unfair trade practices; and (3) to destroy monopoly.

But in their analyses of the conditions responsible for the need the parties are in strong opposition. If the Progressive analysis is correct, the legislation proposed by the Administration is quite inadequate; and if the Administration analysis is correct, the Progressive proposals are quite unsound. We find, therefore, that somewhat rare situation in American politics where the majority and minority parties are agreed that remedial legislation is required, but are in irreconcilable conflict in their appraisement of conditions, and hence in their selection of remedies. The result is the invigoration of politics through the tonic of a sincere and vital issue.

ANALYSIS OF CONDITIONS

According to Progressive thought, great business enterprises and concentrations in control of industries have developed naturally from industrial necessities. This development has been frequently perverted from commercial service to the unjust enrichment of a few cunning and unscrupulous men. But huge enterprises were required to utilize improved processes of production, to meet the demands of distribution to a Nation of ninety millions, to compete successfully with large foreign organizations in both foreign and domestic trade. The great corporation, bringing the small investments of thousands under one control, is theoretically a most democratic means for concentrating financial resources without the menace of great individual financial power.

Yet the deliberate judgment of the people has been expressed in unmistakable and well-grounded hostility to "big business," and to the corporate organizations whereby industrial power has been concentrated.

The underlying theory of the Wilson Democrat appears to be that this seemingly natural development has been largely accomplished by artificial and anti-social manipulation of business. His remedy is to do away with the methods utilized, and thereby to restore the full corrective power of natural competition.

The Progressive, with like recognition of the evils that have been woven into this commercial growth, insists that these are only perversions of natural forces. He therefore proposes, not to attempt a forced return to outgrown conditions, but the eradication of the power of concentrated wealth to prey upon the community.

The Wilson Democrat, strangely enough, still seeks to make the courts (whose mission has been particularly the protection of private interests) the instrument of his programme for the conservation of public interests. The Progressive, on the contrary, finds in the impotence of the courts to cope with the continuing growth of unfair and monopolistic business practices convincing proof, not of the weakness of the statute law, but of the inherent incapacity of the courts to meet the obligation to protect the public interest in the conduct of private business.

This brief résumé of the differing party analyses of present conditions should indicate the inevitable conflict between the remedies proposed.

SELECTION OF REMEDIES

Both parties recognize the necessity for a body of experts to examine business activities and enlighten the public as to actual con-

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ditions. But the Democratic programme conceives of an Inter-State Trade Commission only as an aid to the Legislature and the courts in their task of reforming abuses brought into the light. Perhaps this is only a temporary shyness on account of the strangeness of the idea of a National Commission in Democratic thought. As the Administration acquires further confidence in the Progressive proposal, which its leaders so roundly denounced in 1912, possibly its full value may be appreciated. Certainly the Progressive finds in the limitation of investigative power alone a purely arbitrary refusal to give power of reformation into the hands of those most fitted to exercise it.

The right and obligation to protect private property and liberty cannot be constitutionally taken away from the courts. But the right and obligation to protect the public interest should be speedily vested in a body competent to fulfill these responsibilities. The Inter-State Trade Commission, which both parties would create, is the instrument fitted for this purpose. Its members will certainly be as well qualified as Federal or State judges to deal out impartial justice. They will be far better informed than any court concerning the problems to be considered. But, most important of all, they will be equipped to act promptly and effectively; and they will not be hampered by procedure and precedents which are totally inapplicable to the questions involved, but from the fetters of which the courts appear to be unable to free themselves.

PREVENTION OF UNFAIR COMPETITION

The inadequacy of the courts and the adequacy of a Commission with power to issue orders are well contrasted in the Democratic bills to prevent unfair competition and the Progressive bill drawn for the same purpose. Since a court must enforce a statute exactly as written, the Wilson Democrat finds it necessary to define in great detail unfair business practices. Once defined, these cannot be modified or added to except by another act of Congress.

So we find the Democratic provision that no person shall "make a sale of goods . . . on the condition or understanding that the purchaser shall not deal in the goods, wares, or merchandise of a competitor or competitors of the seller." On this point the Progressive bill provides that "the making of oppressive exclusive contracts for the sale of articles of which the seller has a substantial monopoly" shall be held to be unfair competition. Presumably the Democratic bill is not intended as a prohibition against all exclusive contracts—which are a common incident of legitimate business. Yet in this bill a distinction and prohibition against "*oppressive*" exclusive contracts is practically impossible, because a hundred confused and confusing judges would render differing opinions defining the word "oppressive." The Progressive bill gives to the one Commission the power to define these terms, insuring certainty in the law, without the necessity of prohibiting the good along with the bad, which confronts the Democratic bill draftsman.

Again, the Democratic bill lays its penalties upon the responsible individual, which would be admirable if enforceable, but which means that the chief question in the resultant litigation will be, Who broke the law? The more important interest of the public is in how lawbreaking shall be stopped. The punishment of the offender is a matter of secondary interest. The Progressive Commission is given the power to order the unfair practice stopped. The existence of the practice is all that must be proved. The wrongful action of the corporation responsible can be terminated in thirty days, while under the misleading doctrine of "personal guilt" years may be wasted in proving, first, that the act was done; second, that it was unlawful; and, third, that John Smith did it. Meanwhile both the public and law-abiding business suffer from uncertainty and the probable continuance of wrong-doing by those business men who are willing to "take a chance."

The prohibition of interlocking directorates gives another example of the differing results of the two theories of reform. There is nothing necessarily wrong in the presence of an individual on several boards of directors. The harm to the public results from the use of such power to suppress competition. Therefore the Progressive bill prohibits "the destruction of competition through the use of interlocking directorates." The Commission is empowered to enforce this prohibition.

The Democratic bill specifically prohibits the presence of the same man on boards of directors of certain designated corporations. All interlocking directorates outside the defined groups are free from penalties, and all those inside the groups are made

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unlawful, in utter disregard of the purposes or power of the individuals concerned. It is plain that this bill puts a premium on dummy directors, because, instead of being directed at the wrong—the destruction of competition—its force is directed against the individual, who therefore, whether innocent or guilty of wrong intent, must conceal or neglect his interest in the corporations in which he *is* interested. This arbitrary refusal to accept the fact of this interest and provide against the misuse of rightful power is a logical result in legislation which must be interpreted in detail in the courts, and which aims simply to penalize bad men and bad methods instead of to make wrong-doing difficult and unprofitable by conferring the power of prevention upon an administrative body.

THE DESTRUCTION OF MONOPOLY

In the proposed plans for the destruction of monopoly the contrast in the party attitudes is made most plain. Both recognize the need, but the Democratic faith relies on a programme of attack upon the monopolist and his methods. Sympathizing with this hostility, but reading a lesson from the failures of twenty years of anti-trust legislation, the Progressive proposes to *add* to the *existing* laws against the men and machinery of monopoly an effective weapon against monopolistic *power*. The power of monopoly is the power to determine "price policy" in an industry. That power does not lie in Smith or Jones nor in the mere machinery of combination. That power is based either on crooked business practices or on the control of some necessary factor that would-be competitors are unable to acquire.

The Democratic bills follow the old, old forms. Monopoly is bad; if any one tries to monopolize trade, put him in jail! The Sherman Law provided that programme in 1890, and all the big trusts have grown and thrived under that stanch prohibition. Emphasizing an unenforceable command does not make it enforceable. The "strengthening of the Sherman Law" thus proposed is as though one who had vainly shouted "You shall not!" for long years decided to "strengthen" the prohibition by stamping his foot!

The Progressive bill, on the other hand, proposes that the Government shall cease shouting and go to work at the job of actually depriving would-be monopolists of the *power* to monopolize. If this power is based on unfair trade practices, the Commission can terminate them by executive order. If the *power* is based on the control of a necessary factor, then the Commission is empowered to remove from the alleged monopoly the *control* of this factor. The Commission is to deal with each monopolistic enterprise as an individual problem—which is the only way in which the wrongful power can be reached, as the methods will vary in every case.

Monopolistic power may be acquired without unfair practices through such means as control of natural resources, control of terminal or transportation facilities, or control of financial resources. In every monopoly there must be at least one factor which is of an anti-competitive nature. The greater part of the business mechanism must be of a competitive character. Machinery (when not restrained by patents), selling agents, raw material, skilled workers—these are difficult factors to monopolize. But somewhere in a concern tending to monopolistic power there is the "necessary factor" which others cannot utilize.

If an administrative commission were empowered to seek out this factor and then order such changes in the management or conduct of the business as would prevent private control of this factor, monopolistic power would be made impossible. No court could take such action. No court could insure that its orders would be obeyed, even if the appropriate action were devised for the court.

The powers of the court according to the Democratic proposals are of two characters: Dissolve the John Smith Company; and: Send John Smith to jail. The dissolution of the company, if it is an efficient enterprise, is an economic crime (comparable to the fabled roasting of pig by burning down the house). If the organization is not efficient and competition is restored, the company will find its rightful level. It would be desirable to send John Smith to jail if he breaks the law, but it is exceedingly difficult in most instances to prove that John Smith is *criminally* responsible for what the John Smith Company does. The often expressed enthusiasm of notorious monopolists for the doctrine of "personal guilt" should indicate to the sophisticated that there must be essential weakness in the practical operation of such a drastic-appearing remedy that commands the confidence of those against whom it is to be directed!

But the result of highest importance to the

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public is not mere revenge upon evil-doers, but the destruction of monopolistic power, and for that accomplishment the Democratic programme provides only that the Government shall repeat its ancient command: "You shall not!"—and at the same time stamp its foot!

The Progressive bill provides that if a concern of monopolistic power refuses to obey the reorganization orders of the Commission, then the Commission may ask for the appointment by a Federal court of "supervisors" to take over the control of the corporation, for a brief time, while the orders of the Commission for the elimination of monopolistic power are carried into effect. This process is practically a reformative imprisonment, dealing with the corporate body as an enlightened state would deal with the recalcitrant human member of society.

Here again the Progressive programme is shaped to fit actual conditions, while the Democratic proposals are made applicable to conditions assumed to be desirable, but which are non-existent. The corporation is a unit in business just as the individual is a social unit. It has been created to act as a unit. The corporate device is for the very purpose of eliminating individual responsibility. Yet when the corporation breaks the law, acting as a business unit, the Democratic programme would continue the difficult, inefficient practice of first resolving it back into individual human units and then punishing each one separately for what has been done collectively. This procedure is most illogical, and corporate wrong-doing has been effectively checked only where the courts have had the courage to hold the corporation as an entity.

It was once argued that a corporation could not appear in court, that it could not be guilty of libel, that it could not commit a crime. One by one the courts have broken down these lawyer-made barriers against corporate responsibility, after years of weary litigations during which the public has suffered patiently. The corporation is a "person" in the eyes of the law to-day. If, therefore, the Government is to deal effectively with the business abuses for which incorporated organizations are responsible, the whole growth of corporation law shows that the wrong-doers should be made responsible as organizations. Not being human, they can be reformed more arbitrarily than individuals. They can be made "good." That is the aim of the Progressive bills—not to distinguish between "good" and "bad" trusts, not to protect monopoly if it shall be adjudged beneficent, but to eliminate unfair trade practices and monopolistic power from all industrial enterprises, encouraging the honorable and reforming the dishonorable.

In conclusion, it might be well to attempt to characterize briefly the positions of the three leading parties on the trust problem. It has been unnecessary to analyze the Republican attitude, because, so far as can be observed, there is no party attitude, except an unwillingness, or, more accurately, an inability, to adopt any constructive programme. This is the natural result of the effort to unite men of strong and opposing convictions. Individual opinion persists, but there can be little agreement on anything save a do-nothing party policy. The following condensed statements are obviously partisan, but presented in the firm conviction that they are not on that account unfair:

PARTY POSITIONS IN REGARD TO BUSINESS REGULATION

Republican: *Cautious Conservatism.* Do not go forward; do not go back; lest we lose that which we have gained.

Progressive: *Conscious Progress.* Find the trend of the times and go forward with it, shaping natural forces to human betterment.

Democratic: *Beneficent Reaction.* The old purely competitive ways were the best; fight backwards, against tendencies towards concentration, to the "good old days."

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COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A WEEKLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

SHALL THE AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT BECOME AGENCIES OF ECONOMIC DESTRUCTION?

"WE shall restore and not destroy," said President Wilson in his inaugural of a year ago.

Other reassuring words have followed, and the weary business man, journeying across the desert of commercial and financial distress, has been heartened by them. From time to time the President has seemed to descry upon the horizon the promised land of prosperity and peace, and has pictured forth his vision with a cogency that swept away all doubt of its reality and his sincerity. But thus far the vision has proved to be a mirage, and the panic through which we passed last summer has been succeeded by a depression now intensified by the deferred hope which "maketh the heart sick."

Not since the free silver campaign of 1896 have thinking men seemed to feel such distrust of our political system or such fear that the agencies of Government will become the agencies of economic destruction.

The President is not to be blamed for the conditions which provoke this distrust and fear. Many of those who do not appreciate the limitations of his power are apt to think of him as an omnipotent and omniscient though anthropomorphic being who should be held personally responsible for every malevolent use of the power of government. This is unfair. With an informing candor, ex-President Taft has recently explained that the seemingly great power of the Presidential office is pitiably restricted by the exigencies of politics and the force of public opinion, and Mr. Wilson himself has said that "legislation is a business of interpretation and not of origination."

To those who know anything of the pressure under which the occupant of the White House must think and work it is a wonder that any man can survive even four years of it.

Mr. Wilson's achievements during the twelve months that he has been President are amazing.

There can be no doubt of his sincerity, patriotism, or political skill, and he cannot be justly criticised for the mistakes of his subordinates, especially when they are not his appointees and are removable only by impeachment or some equivalent process.

It is difficult to believe, however, that Mr. Wilson can be ignorant of the fact that the present business depression is largely due to the apprehension that is felt with regard to the future of the American railways. They represent about one-seventh of our National wealth; their expenditures create a large portion of our commerce, and the wages paid their 1,700,000 employees support at least 7,000,000 persons. The savings of the people are largely invested in railway securities, and the stability of our credit institutions is acutely dependent upon the preservation of their earning power and value. It cannot be questioned that, either with or without the acquiescence of the President, the treatment of the railways of the country by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government has seriously crippled the business of transportation, the greatest industry of our country, and has practically checked railway extension.

Formerly this extension was co-ordinate with our growth in population and our commercial development, but now it has stopped.

The President of the Pennsylvania Railroad reports that only twelve miles were added to its trackage during 1913, and in the entire United States but 3,071 miles of first track were built last year. This is but one and one-quarter per cent of the total of 344,179 miles, which does not include 117,000 miles of additional main track and sidings.

On this mileage there were carried in the twelve months ending December 31, 1913, about one billion passengers and two billion tons of freight. The railways received an average of about two cents for carrying a passenger one mile, and about three-quarters of a cent for carrying a ton of freight the same distance.

Their total revenue was about three billion dollars, of which 71 per cent was spent for labor and supplies. This left about $900,000,000, of which about $135,000,000

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was paid for taxes. There remained about $765,000,000 for rentals, interest on bonds, appropriations for betterments, improvements, new construction, and dividends. This applies upon the investment in 375,000 miles of first, second, third, and fourth tracks, yard-track and sidings, equipment, telegraph lines, bridges, terminals, right of way, and other accessories. The railways have certain non-transportation income from outside investments, but, roughly speaking, this is not more than sufficient to cover the interest on these investments.

The net income of $765,000,000 is about $2,000 per mile, or, say, 4 per cent upon an average cost of $50,000 per mile, which is probably less than the amount actually spent in creating the railway system of America as it stands to-day.

Those who know anything of railway construction and have observed the viaducts, trestles, and bridges over which expensive trains and costly engines run into elaborate terminals will admit that $50,000 per mile is a low estimate of the average cost of the entire system.

To avoid mental confusion and eye-weariness, the figures of income, disbursements, and revenue per ton and passenger mile are given in round figures which fit the facts closely enough to show that, despite the high cost of labor in the United States—

1. Railway freights and passenger transportation are lower than anywhere else in the world; and that
2. The capital invested in railways earns less than it would receive in almost any other form of enterprise.

These two facts, and their relation, explain why railway building has stopped, and why the twenty billions of bonds and stocks which represent the capitalization of American railways are, on the average, worth much less than par, and show an aggregate depreciation of about five billion dollars since 1906.

They also explain why the "Financial Chronicle" has recently asked if it is an exaggeration to say that "the railroad system of the United States is rapidly drifting toward bankruptcy," and whether it is surprising that "under these circumstances business everywhere should be depressed."

The expenses of the National, State, municipal and county governments of the United States last year were about four billion dollars, which is $40 per capita; but no heed is paid to any complaint against this extravagance.

The railways collected about $30 per capita for carrying a billion passengers and two billion tons of freight at the lowest rates in the world; but their administration is under constant criticism by the railway commissions, legislatures, and officers of justice in every State of the Union, by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, by Congress, and by the Attorney-General of the United States.

Under these conditions it is natural to ask whether there is a general or popular demand for all this anti-railway activity, and whether any real grievance exists or is complained of by even a small minority of the public.

The control of rates and service by the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the railway commissions of the Nation and the various States exists. It is absolute, and has been cordially accepted both in principle and practice. Under this control, bankruptcy has been avoided only by the economies made possible through co-ordination under one management of various corporate integers formerly independent of each other.

Years ago one had to change cars at least a dozen times in going from New York to San Francisco. Now only one change is necessary. To-day a train-load of perishable freight is carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific in a week. It would have been impossible in 1894. The public is better served because the unification of railway management has made economy and co-ordination possible. It is more cheaply served because Governmental control of rates has compelled the railways to reduce charges as rapidly as denser traffic or increased efficiency has made it possible for them to do so.

Latterly, however, there is evidence of a desire to disrupt the combinations that have made possible the economies effected. At the present time suits or negotiations are pending, undertaken on behalf either of some State or the National Government, with the object of dissolving the corporate relationships which exist between the Illinois Central and the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railways; the Boston and Maine and the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railways; the Norfolk and Western and the Pennsylvania Railways; the Southern Pacific and the Central Pacific Railways; and several other less conspicuous alliances.

Of these actions, probably the most im-

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portant is that affecting the Southern Pacific system, of which, since its creation, the Central Pacific has always been a part. This suit follows the partition of the Union and Southern Pacific, orginally consolidated by the late E. H. Harriman through the purchase by the former corporation of a controlling interest in the stock of the latter.

Most people who have any active or practical interest in the question know that the Union Pacific runs from Omaha to Ogden and that its transcontinental traffic is carried from Ogden—

1. To Portland and the Northwest over its own Oregon Short Line.
2. To Los Angeles and Southern California over the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad, which it controls.
3. To Oakland on San Francisco Bay over the tracks of the Central Pacific.

They know also that the Southern Pacific runs from New Orleans to Los Angeles, and thence north over its own tracks and those of the Central Pacific to San Francisco and beyond, and that the Southern Pacific and Central Pacific, though two separate corporations, were built by the same people, and have been practically one and under a common management since the earliest days of railway construction in California.

The suit for their dissolution is brought under the Sherman Law and an act of Congress passed in July, 1862, and the complaint alleges that through the control of the Central Pacific the Southern Pacific discourages traffic via Ogden, to the disadvantage of the Union Pacific and its Eastern connections, diverting the business to the "Sunset" or Southern Pacific route via New Orleans.

Thus it would appear that the action is brought in the interest of the people of California and the Union Pacific Railway; but it is curious that neither the Union Pacific nor the people of California, through its Railway Commission, join in the complaint. The California State Railway Commission, in fact, refused less than a year ago to assent to a proposition mutually agreed upon by the railways that the Union Pacific should acquire the Central Pacific; and the Railway Commissions of Nevada and Oregon are on record as vigorously protesting against the present dissolution proceedings.

In this protest the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and nearly every newspaper and commercial organization on the Pacific slope have joined. Of their ingenuousness The Outlook has convinced itself by direct correspondence with many high-minded and prominent men in California.

The suit is therefore somewhat anomalous in that none of the parties in whose interest it is supposed to have been brought admit the grievances complained of in their behalf, and from their silence and opposition it may be inferred that the violation of the law alleged is not one that is working any great hardship to the parties most affected.

Nevertheless, if the conditions as stated do exist and are a violation of the law, they should be changed; but it is well to recollect that the Supreme Court has said that the "rule of reason" must be regarded in the application of the Sherman Law, and it is proper to inquire whether any prosecuting officer should invoke a statute which must be applied with such nice discrimination, unless in so doing he can secure some evidence that the parties alleged to be injured are willing to admit affirmatively a consciousness of injury.

In delivering the opinion upon which the suit for the dissolution of the American Tobacco Company went up to the Supreme Court, Judge Lacombe, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, said that the Sherman Law, literally interpreted, would prohibit a co-partnership between two men each of whom had been previously operating an express wagon across a State boundary. It is equally true that a literal application of the law would resolve the American railway system into chaos, ruin its credit, destroy its organization, and greatly impair the efficiency and increase the cost of the service which it now renders.

The great railways of the United States are composed of numberless small corporations, originally more or less independent. With infinite patience, through years of work, they have been gradually welded into a comparatively few trunk lines, which, under centralized management, have been able to effect an almost constant reduction in the cost of transportation. Every detail of their rates and traffic arrangements is subject to the control of one or more railway commissions.

The present suit against the Southern Pacific and the many others which must logically follow it will prove enormously expensive to the railways, will check their development while pending, and ruin their credit thereafter, if the Government is successful.

Under the circumstances, it becomes a

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matter of profound public interest to know the views of the Attorney-General as to whether an unreasonable conspiracy in restraint of trade or an unreasonable monopoly is possible as between two railway corporations whose every act is subject to the approval of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and whose policy is not complained of either by the public whom they serve or other railways with which they have or may have traffic relations.

In the hope that the Attorney-General might feel himself able to make some answer to the questions implied, I submitted this statement of the case by mail to him, but up to the time of writing no reply has been received, and it is quite reasonable to infer that he feels that it would be improper to express himself before the trial of the issue.

From the standpoint of the practical business man this is most regrettable. The dissolution suit must first be heard in the United States Court for the District of Utah, and from the decision rendered there appeal will undoubtedly be taken to the Supreme Court. In the usual course of litigation, this will require from two to three years.

Meantime, railway enterprise and extension in America will be held in check, for there are literally hundreds of cases to which the principle that is invoked in the proceedings to dissolve the Southern and Central Pacific can be applied.

A recent compilation prepared for the Inter-State Commerce Commission indicates that in the Eastern railway territory of the United States there are approximately 897 railway companies, originally separate and distinct. Of these, 606, or 68 per cent, are now controlled by twelve systems. These systems and the number of roads controlled by each are as follows:

New York Central	118
Pennsylvania	112
Reading	80
Baltimore and Ohio	78
New Haven	70
Erie	53
Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western	21
Grand Trunk	21
Wabash	15
Delaware and Hudson	14
Lehigh Valley	13
Western Maryland	9

Of the remaining 291 small railway corporations, many are controlled indirectly, and still others, nominally independent, are "economically" dependent upon the larger systems.

Among the more conspicuous instances of inter-corporate relationships which are just as much of a conspiracy and monopoly in restraint of trade as that alleged in the Southern-Central Pacific case are the following:

The New York Central, which operates its own line and the West Shore between New York and Buffalo and three lines, namely, the Michigan Central, Lake Shore, and Nickel Plate, between Buffalo and Chicago.

The New York, New Haven, and Hartford, which operates the Shore Line between New York and Boston and the old New England Railroad by way of Hartford and Willimantic between the same two points.

The Pennsylvania, which operates two distinct lines between Pittsburgh and Chicago.

The Union Pacific, which operates its main line from Denver to the Missouri River at Omaha and the Kansas Pacific from Denver to the same river at Kansas City.

The Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, which controls practically three competing routes between Chicago and Billings and Helena, Montana; Spokane, Seattle, and Tacoma, Washington; and Portland, Oregon.

The Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul, which by three separate lines has three different gateways to the Pacific coast.

The Southern Railway, which by its control of the Queen and Crescent route and the old East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad commands three arteries of traffic between New Orleans, Mobile, Washington, and the North.

The list could be indefinitely prolonged, but it is unnecessary. Practically all the smaller corporations are in a conspiracy with some larger system that offends the Sherman Law quite as grievously as does the Southern Pacific by its control of the Central Pacific.

Upon the Attorney-General rests the entire responsibility of deciding whether the physical and corporate co-ordination of two railway companies is, or is not, an actionable conspiracy in restraint of trade.

There is no Grand Jury to stand between the railways and their presentment to the courts in a suit for dissolution based upon an alleged violation of the Sherman Law. The question whether their co-operation is reasonable or unreasonable in a degree that justifies action against them must first be determined by the Attorney-General, again by the United States Court of first resort, and finally by the Supreme Court.

The expense and suspense involved in

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such a situation are intolerable, and, as its menace is becoming better understood, it is utterly paralyzing investment in American railway securities. As a matter of fact, within the thirty days ending March 7, four railways were compelled to sell an aggregate of $133,000,000 of short-time notes at high rates of interest, because confidence in the permanency of their present status and earning power has become so impaired that there is no market for their bonds.

The present relationship between the Central and Southern Pacific affects the people of the Pacific coast financially in a degree that is negligible. In the suit to dissolve the Union and Southern Pacific roads, the evidence presented shows that in 1901 the Southern Pacific traffic for which the Union Pacific might have competed amounted to only 0.88 per cent of the entire Southern Pacific tonnage, while the Union Pacific traffic for which the Southern Pacific might have competed was only 3.10 per cent of the entire Union Pacific tonnage.

These figures, applied to the total population of the Pacific States, would indicate that if a dissolution of the two systems had resulted in a ten per cent reduction in freight rates on the business for which they competed with each other in 1901 the money saved to the people of California, Oregon, and Washington would have been less than two cents per capita. According to the last Census, the population of these three States was 4,192,304. They are independent of the rest of the world in so far as most of the agricultural necessaries of life are concerned. They produce and manufacture nearly all of their own food and fuel. A large share of the heavy and non-perishable freight that is shipped to or from the Pacific coast goes either around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus. When the Panama Canal is opened, the transcontinental railways will carry a still smaller proportion of the traffic between the Pacific coast and the East. The open competition of the water route is a guarantee against oppressively high rail rates.

It is hardly possible to find a case in which the potential financial benefit of dissolution to the community served by the defendant corporations would be so infinitesimally small.

If the Attorney-General had set out to bring a suit that would be the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Sherman Law as applied to railways, he could hardly have made a better selection. It cannot be assumed that his purpose is so frivolous, and the alternative presumption, seemingly justified by the recent attitude of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, is that those who are charged with the administration of the law believe that the railways of the United States are managed in an anti-social spirit, against which the power of the Inter-State Commerce Commission cannot prevail, and that the complete disorganization and bankruptcy of our transportation system are necessary to protect the rights of the people.

It is almost inconceivable that any officer of the Government can have so misread the facts or misinterpreted public opinion. If so, we must expect a period of financial paralysis and industrial unemployment that the stimulus of the Federal Reserve System will be powerless to relieve. If so, the political party responsible for such mistaken interpretation and action will be utterly discredited when next it shall appeal to the suffrages of the people. If so, those who have any economic stake in the community will be aroused to aggressive co-operation in self-protection. If so, the social and financial chaos that is certain to follow will give to some Bonaparte of the not-distant future an opportunity to end what is already described as "an industrial reign of terror," by methods which will check the progress of civilization for many generations and utterly shatter Anglo-Saxon confidence in the principle of universal suffrage.

Those who, unasked, are attempting to destroy capital and corporations instead of regulating them and punishing the *men* responsible for their misuse and maladministration are creating conditions under which anarchy and disorder will thrive while industry, thrift, and initiative languish in discouragement.

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THE SPECTATOR

HE REPORTS A CLUB CONVERSATION ON READING AND BOOK-COLLECTING

WE were talking at the club about book-collecting. "When it takes the form of a passion for rare volumes and first editions, it's generally a literary vice," said the Pessimist. "It's the reading, not the collecting, of books that maketh the full man. First editions are of great value, of course, as scientific standards of accuracy, but for literary purposes a careful reprint is just as good. Why, I have a friend who keeps his First Folio of Shakespeare in a safe-deposit vault! Now, I've no objection to a man's buying a first edition or a rare volume and holding it for a rise in the market, but I maintain that such a transaction is mercantile, not literary. Your true literary man devours books; he does not collect them. Can you imagine Dr. Johnson or Charles Lamb collecting first editions?"

"Yes, I can," the Spectator replied, somewhat tartly, it must be confessed, for any attack on book-loving annoys him; "and, now that you have dragged in the name of Lamb, let me tell you a story I heard the other day of an American business man enamored of Lamb and an ardent collector of everything relating to that delightful essayist. He had one great ambition—to possess Lamb's black-letter Chaucer, in which Lamb took so much comfort, and which was intimately associated with him. He followed every clue for a number of years without success. One day he read an announcement of a sale of old books in a distant city. Something attracted his attention, and he instantly had the intuition that the black-letter Chaucer might be among the collection. He went to the train so rapidly that he forgot his overcoat, but he was amply rewarded, for he found the black-letter Chaucer and bought it. He took the fastest train home, arriving on his front porch at midnight, and rang the bell with great vehemence. The servants were at a distance. His wife, somewhat alarmed, opened the window and asked, 'Who's there?' to which he replied, 'I have got it!' in a tone of enthusiasm, and she instantly answered, 'What, the black-letter Chaucer?' 'Yes; come down and let me in.'"

"Well, what does that prove," retorted the Pessimist, "except that your American business man would have been just as eager to buy Lamb's old dressing-gown or the poker with which Mrs. Battle brightened up her whist-party fire? Moreover, I think your story's apocryphal. I have heard before allusions to Lamb's 'black-letter Chaucer,' but I have hunted through the nine volumes of E. V. Lucas's 'Life and Works of Charles Lamb,' and in vain, for any reference to it. Why should Lamb want to read Chaucer in black letter?

> "'When that Aprillë with his schowrës swoote
> The drought of Marche had perced to the roote'

is bad enough in ten-point roman! The only thing that Lucas tells us about Lamb and Chaucer is that Lamb wrote a letter to William Godwin explaining why he could not write a satisfactory review of Godwin's 'Life of Chaucer.' It may have been that the trouble was with the unsatisfactory nature of Godwin's book. I think the trouble was, however, that Lamb did not care for 'black-letter' poetry. So your American business man lost his overcoat for his pains!"

"You give me the very argument I want," amiably answered the Spectator, who by this time had recovered his equanimity. "If we had a complete, definitive first edition of *all* of Lamb's writings—if somebody had kept in a safe his newspaper articles and reviews—we should probably be able to tell absolutely what Lamb thought of black-letter poetry. Unfortunately, his review of Godwin's 'Chaucer' has been lost. Two hundred years from now our successors, talking about books in the library of this very club, will probably be grateful to your friend for keeping his First Folio of Shakespeare in a safe-deposit vault.

"But," the Spectator hurried on, in order to forestall a protest which he saw hovering on the lips of his antagonist, "let me tell you another story of book-collecting which I heard the other day. A fellow-countryman of ours happened to be dining in a restaurant in Paris when the news of the battle of Manila arrived. He had begun in a modest way to collect books. He instantly saw the significance of that battle, and promptly put himself in communication with rare-book dealers of many places, asking them to

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secure for him all the books on the Philippines which were accessible. The result was that in a few years he had a collection of books relating to the islands numbering several thousand. Meanwhile he had become deeply interested. He familiarized himself with the literature on the subject, and he had filled in many of the gaps in his collection. It was not long before the collection became very valuable to the Government, which made free use of it. It is now probably the largest collection of books relating to the Philippines in the world, and its value, from a historical point of view, is very great."

"Very interesting, of course," was the Pessimist's comment. "But I ask you to notice that he whom you are pleased to call 'our fellow-countryman'—he's no fellow-countryman of mine if he's a first-edition crank—bought those Philippine books to read, not because they were first editions, or were high-priced, or had come from the Morgan or Hoe collections, or had been bound by Zaehnsdorf!"

"You're incorrigible!" sorrowfully replied the Spectator. "Won't you even admit that Zaehnsdorf has a permissible function in the world? Apropos of Zaehnsdorf, I'll try just one more story. If that doesn't affect you, I shall abandon you as a miserable bookworm—incapable of seeing any beauty or sentiment in the physical personality of a book, simply regarding it as so much pabulum to be devoured and cast aside as an abandoned carcass.

"What I am about to tell you," continued the Spectator, "is really a story within a story. I will repeat it just as it was told me by our friend Edwin Winter. You know him as a practical railway man of distinction and high repute; I know him as a collector—"

"A collector of useless and unread first editions, I suppose," broke in the Pessimist, irritably.

"—Of etchings," continued the Spectator, serenely, "each of which he knows and enjoys intimately."

"Ah, now you're talking sense," again interrupted the Pessimist, although there was no irritation in his voice this time. "First editions or first impressions of an etched plate are worth while, because the printing of an etching is an essential element of its inherent or absolute beauty. The idea of an etching depends upon its printing; the idea of a book does not. Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is as beautiful when printed from linotype composition on wood pulp by the rotary press of a cheap New York daily journal as it is when struck from a special font of type on hand-made deckle-edged paper. But go on with your story."

Whereupon the Spectator repeated the story, as nearly as he could remember it, in Mr. Winter's own words. It ran as follows:

In Chicago one evening I was sitting in the little basement library of my friend—let me call him Edward Baird, for any name but his own will do—who during the past thirty-five years has brought together, bit by bit, one of the most complete collections of Americana in this country. We had been talking about early days—how he as a railway-tie contractor and I as a kid superintendent used to scrap over the quality of his wares. Presently he turned the conversation to books—his books; he always does that, for they are his friends—and, running over some newly acquired treasures, showed me a rare pamphlet, a few leaves in a faded paper cover, and named the incredible price he had joyously paid for its possession. I was doubtful of its value.

"It's a nugget, man—a nugget!"

This is Baird's last superlative. Nothing further, in his opinion, can be said.

"How the deuce," said I, "did you ever get into collecting Americana and follow it so persistently with your increasing means all these years? You had no training for these things more than I, and now you are known as a liberal and highly discriminating collector wherever books are sold. How did it happen?" And he told me this story:

"While I was still quite young," he said, "I was a sergeant in a regiment of Illinois Volunteers. That was in '64. My company had been stationed near Phœnix, Arizona, or the spot where Phœnix now is. It was a dismal, sun-baked spot, and there was little to do. One day I came across a worn set of Prescott's 'Conquest of Mexico'—the only printed thing in the post. Some of the pages were gone from the first volume, but, in the absence of something better, I began laboriously to read it. Probably I had never read a book to the end before; but as I got into it I became interested, and before we were ordered home to be mustered out I had faithfully gone through the whole work twice over.

"My father had for many years kept a small hotel and railway eating-house in my native town, seventy miles from Chicago, and when I came home he bought for me a half-interest in the village store. It was among my duties to go to Chicago each month to buy goods.

"One day I was passing the book-store of

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S. C. Griggs & Co., on Lake Street, and saw in the window Prescott's 'Mexico' in three volumes. The price, twelve dollars, was beyond me, but I longed to own them—the only books I really knew. It seemed a desperate thing to try, but, after nervously forecasting the pecuniary possibilities, I determined to take the plunge.

"I went in and asked for Mr. Griggs. I declined to state my errand to the clerk in charge, and after some parley I was shown into the proprietor's office. I remember he was rather a severe-visaged, elderly man, but not unkindly, and I took courage. I said:

"'I'm Edward Baird. I own a half-interest in a store at —— Junction. I want that set of Prescott in the window, but I can't pay for it all at once. If you will let me have the first volume to-day for five dollars, I will take the second next month for four dollars, and one the month following, the last to come, for the remaining three dollars.'

"He eyed me sharply and said:

"'Well, young man, we don't usually break the set that way. But you look like an honest boy. I guess we'll risk it.' And when I finally had that green cloth set of Prescott complete in my room, I believe I was prouder than I have ever been since over any of my possessions! I guess that's about the way it happened."

Then he went to a glass-screened case in the corner by itself and out of an asbestos box took three richly bound volumes.

"Last year," he continued, "I took the dear old things with me to London and told Zaehnsdorf to put the best covers on them he knew how to make. If I don't 'bust,' I'm going to leave my collection to the —— Library. If I do, and have to sell, you can bet your boots Prescott won't be in the catalogue."

At the conclusion of the story the Pessimist sat silent for a moment. Then in a ruminating tone he said, as if to himself, "He certainly deserves his Zaehnsdorf—that collector—and there are mitigating good qualities about him;" and then, turning to the Spectator and in a rising voice, he added: "But you don't shake my fundamental belief that the typical book-collector is a mere curiosity-seeker—a museum expert. He is not a true patron of literature as the Florentines of the Renaissance were patrons of art. Give me the man who is on the watch for new creations, who buys, and thus promotes the work of the new poets, the new essayists, the new novelists, the new historians!"

The secret was out at last. Poor fellow, his latest monograph, entitled "The Edibility of the Oyster in the Flint Age," was not selling well! So the Spectator left him, as he now leaves the defense of the modern bibliophile, to some abler voice and pen than his own.

THE NEW BOOKS

When Ghost Meets Ghost. By William De Morgan. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.60.

Those readers who rush through the latest story to-day in order that they may be able to-morrow to rush through the next to come out would better leave this novel alone. But those who want to live a while with imagined characters until they become familiar friends, who want leisurely to enjoy humor, tenderness, and the interplay of circumstance and character, will find in this book the same kind of pleasure they found in Mr. De Morgan's "Somehow Good" and "Joseph Vance." It is the longest of his books, and one of the longest existing pieces of English fiction. It is probable that even the most devoted of De Morgan admirers will at times wish that a little less minute particularity could be used in minor matters and will feel that the author is taking a whimsical pleasure in showing how long he can be in passing a given point. But all the essentials that make up an admirable and typical De Morgan novel are here. By a thousand little touches, by approaches from all directions, by what at first seem to be rambling excursions and divagations but which in fact illuminate the situation, the author so builds up his people and his situations that they take hold of heart and imagination. The writing of the book has been done with infinite loving patience. Mr. De Morgan is now, we believe, seventy-three years old; "Joseph Vance" appeared when he was sixty-seven. In the five or six major novels he has published, and omitting one or two not very happy incursions into another field of fiction, what a wealth of humor, human kindliness, and gentle philosophy has he not poured forth!

The ghosts that meet in the novel are ghosts to one another only. Twin sisters, now aged, separated by black villainy when they were young women, each believing the other dead, are kept apart, and finally brought together by an intricate yet natural sequence of events. Their history has no touch of bathos; it holds the reader's interest in a constantly increasing measure. There are children, too, such as De Morgan alone can depict, who live in Sapp's Court with their Aunt Maria and the ex-prize-fighter Uncle Mo (the last, we believe, figures in "Joseph Vance"); there is a true and sweet

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girl, "Gwen of the Towers;" and there are a host of minor characters all of whom fit into the development of the two motives of the novel—young love and old love—and all helping to make a Mid-Victorian tale (the time is about 1850) of fineness in spirit and quality.

Lodger (The). By Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

The motive of this story was undoubtedly suggested to Mrs. Lowndes by the series of murders of women which startled London a few years ago and suggested the presence of some insane man of "Jack the Ripper" type. The story is very carefully worked out, and, although it is necessarily ghastly, Mrs. Lowndes is too well trained a writer and too experienced an artist to allow the melodramatic element to usurp the dramatic, or to substitute crude horrors for the impression of a terrible tragedy. The story is well worked out.

Cap'n Dan's Daughter. By Joseph C. Lincoln. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.35.

There are two or three of Mr. Lincoln's Cape Cod folks here—notably Zuba, the hired "help," and Cap'n Dan himself—who have the homely humor and sturdy originality so welcome in all his stories. But the main situation—that of country people inheriting money and by the wife's willfulness forced to try to cut a dash socially in the city—is not new nor is it particularly well handled.

Judgment of the Sword (The). By Maud Diver. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

The awful tale of the tragedy of Kabul in the last century is written with careful and minute detail by an English novelist who has made a name among interpreters of Indian life. The hero about whose quiet figure the narrative revolves is Major Eldred Pottinger, friend of the ill-fated General Elphinstone, whose weakness, physical and otherwise, brought disaster to the English troops in Afghanistan. The author does not need to enter the field of fiction, nor does she; facts are vivid enough, and history unadorned furnishes more than enough dramatic material for her record. The story appeals more strongly to English readers than to us because of their necessarily close historical interest in the events told.

Oxford Book of Canadian Verse (The). Chosen by Wilfred Campbell. The Oxford University Press, New York. $2.

Mr. Campbell, who has written some excellent verse himself, tells us in his preface that he has endeavored to cover the field of Canadian verse from the earliest Colonial days down to the present time, and mentions some of the difficulties that have confronted him. It is not always easy to distinguish and define Canadian verse; Canada is practically a new country into which large numbers of the British peoples have moved during the last century and a half; and it is not easy to distinguish between the purely Canadian writer and the writer who is a resident in Canada, or who was born in Canada but is living and writing elsewhere. Mr. Campbell has wisely limited the sphere of his selection, and, as a result, has brought together in a small and very readable book representative Canadian work in poetry. Many Americans who are not familiar with the literary development of the Dominion will be surprised at the strength, vigor, and charm of Canadian verse; for this volume contains much that would contribute substantially to the poetry of any modern country, much that is American in the large sense of the word.

Great Painter-Etchers from Rembrandt to Whistler (The). By Malcolm C. Salaman. (Special Number.) The John Lane Company. Offices of The International Studio, New York. $2.50.

A special number of the well-known "International Studio" is devoted to etchers from Rembrandt, who died in 1669, to Legros, who died in 1911. Though the list is a very long one, the text gives some vivid indication of each man's peculiar place in the art of etching. There are upwards of two hundred illustrations; some are very good, others not so good. Among the good ones are several of Legros's etchings, and it is fortunate, for most of us know little of his work.

Cecil Rhodes, the Man and His Work. By Gordon Le Sueur, F.R.G.S. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $3.50.

The biography of a great man by his private secretary is likely to be indiscreet unless the secretary keeps a sharp lookout. If any one thinks Mr. Le Sueur's anecdotes of Cecil Rhodes indiscreet, it is just possible, after all, that the indiscretions were inspired. They do not always improve matters; indeed, some of them seem to make the sketch of Rhodes cruder rather than finer. Yet there is atmosphere in them, and many of them are to the point. As in Sir Lewis Michell's biography, so here the comparisons between Rhodes on the one hand, and the Cæsars, Napoleon, and Clive on the other, are interesting, the author inclining also to a comparison with Bismarck. But the present volume is not a biography in the generally accepted sense of that word; it is not a complete life, but it is an intimate appreciation. From it we realize anew that Cecil Rhodes was not only an empire-builder but a very human document.

South American Tour (The). By Annie S. Peck, M.A. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.50.

Miss Peck is well known as a daring and persistent mountain climber. Her ascent of Huascarán, the Andes peak, was a notable event in recent mountain climbing, and from her appreciations in this volume of some of the other Andean giants we should not be surprised to hear of another feat on her part. This book has a distinct value to any

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one interested in South America, and especially to one who expects to go thither. Its text is immensely informative. Miss Peck has produced a guide-book, it is true; she tells us about railways, steamships, hotels; she describes many cities and towns along the route across the Isthmus, down the Pacific coast, across the Trans-Andine Railway, and then up the east coast to the West Indies. Unfortunately, the accompanying map is on too small a scale for the detail necessary to such text. Miss Peck's book ought to have the advantage of the large, clear maps in Mr. Bryce's recent book on South America. A marked feature of the present volume is its incidental gossip. We may wonder why some of it is "lugged in;" but it is all interesting, and lends color and vivacity to the statistical information.

Colour of the East (The). By Elizabeth Washburn. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.25.

Elizabeth Washburn (Mrs. Hamilton Wright) has published a work of singular worth, and the publishers have put it into a book attractive in paper and print and pleasantly light to the hand. Most people have not had the advantage of living among the Asiatic scenes described by Mrs. Wright, or even of seeing them. Most people, therefore, are still under the Occidental spell of statistics, of hard-and-fast lines, and of all that goes to make a very practical sort of civilization. With the Oriental, on the other hand, there seems to be a more instinctive appreciation of the color of life, an atmospheric color. And this is just what Mrs. Wright successfully compresses within the covers of a book. She takes us from Port Saïd eastward. She shows us the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Himalayas, Singapore, Manila, Cebu, China, and especially Manchuria. In each description and sketch one feels that the author is not writing merely to show how well she can put words together—and she puts them together with impact and appeal; one feels, instead, a sense of spontaneity of production, as if these descriptions wrote themselves, as if the author could not help their being written. One is also conscious of the author's absorption in her subject and her identification with it; indeed, at times one feels that not an Occidental but an Oriental is speaking. Let no one believe, however, that such sensations as Mrs. Wright has experienced in the East are at the ordinary traveler's beck and call. One must live amid those sensations, as she has lived, to have them.

John Woolman: His Life and Our Times. By W. T. Shore. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

This considerable volume shows that the interest in the author of "Woolman's Journal" does not diminish, and that his singularly quiet spirit and modest faith in himself have not prevented the shining of his light on both sides of the Atlantic. For Woolman was one of the light-bringers and the light-bearers. A country tailor by profession, he had the gift of spiritual susceptibility. He was a born mystic, and his spirit irradiated his intelligence so that, like Lincoln, he acquired the classic touch, not so much through study and practice as through the ripening of his own nature. Charles Lamb, who was no mean judge of English style, said, "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart."

The "Journal" is in no sense literary, and yet it is in a very real sense literature. It possesses the two qualities which Swift and, later, Arnold emphasized—sweetness and light. Woolman was a striking example of a reformer who was without rancor. He was one of the first to denounce slavery, but he never hated the slave-owner. The "Journal," with a little group of Jonathan Edwards's Sermons and Benjamin Franklin's "Autobiography," is one of the early original contributions to American literature.

Shelley, Godwin, and their Circle. By H. N. Brailsford, M.A. (The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge.) Henry Holt & Co., New York. 50c.

Mr. Brailsford introduces us to Godwin, Shelley, and their circle, and makes us feel comfortably familiar with it. The volume contains some interesting comment on the effect of the French Revolution in England.

At the World's Heart. By Cale Young Rice. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York. $1.25.

With touches of picturesque fancy, but with somewhat cloudy expression of ideals, this little book of meditative philosophy leads us to the familiar phrases, "There is nothing but Life. And the Spirit of Life is Love. And Love is God."

Jack and Jill. By Greville MacDonald. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

A twin brother and sister wandered into Fairyland under the guidance of their friend Mister Scare Crow, and their adventures are told with liveliness and originality. Quaint pictures in color and in black and white, by Arthur Hughes, enliven the broad pages.

Old Valentines. By Munson Havens. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.

A happy, pleasantly written, old-fashioned love story, of romance "all compact." It is a cheerful and alert tale, although it has its somber aspects. It is not a serious piece of literature, but it is wholesome, and its romantic atmosphere will harm nobody.

Whigs and Whiggism (Political Writings). By Benjamin Disraeli. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.

This is a volume of interesting reference to students of English history. As time goes on, the Whig party becomes more and more a thing apart. We here learn of it through a no less keen critic of political affairs than Benjamin Disraeli. The volume is a collection of his political opinions as expressed during the two decades between 1833 and 1853.

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BY THE WAY

Severe weather seems literally to have been universal during the past few weeks. A newspaper despatch from the Lowell Observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, says: "A heavy late spring frost occurred Wednesday night on Mars." Now if the Martians observed the effects of our blizzards, there ought to be an *entente cordiale*.

An oil-burning steamer, the Siam, equipped with Diesel engines, recently made a 23,000-mile voyage without refilling her oil tanks, and could have sailed 8,000 miles farther without refueling. The voyage was from Borneo to Antwerp, thence to Copenhagen, then around Cape Horn to San Pedro, California.

The patents issued in the United States last year numbered 35,624; the number of patents that expired during the year amounted to 21,867. A curious feature of the annual report of Commissioner Ewing that gives these figures is the statement that delays in issuing patents are frequently desired by the persons who apply for them, and are opposed by the Patent Office. As an illustration of these delayed patents, it is said that 79 applications still pending were first made fifteen years ago.

Speaking of the effect of the cinematograph play on small cities, Robert Grau in the "Dramatic Mirror" says: "The most important and impressive revelation is that in a city of the so-called 'one-night stand' class a Biblical photoplay will crowd an ample auditorium six times in three days, and repeat the achievement within a month."

Congress has voted to present "a suitable American-made solid gold dial watch and chain" to Captain Paul H. Kreibohm, of the American steamer Kroonland, for his bravery in rescuing eighty-nine persons from the burning steamer Volturno. Five gold, five silver, and twenty-nine bronze medals will be presented to the officers and crew of the Kroonland at the same time.

Snuff-taking seems to be declining in popularity, but the habit has by no means become extinct. An American company which deals in snuff recently paid 15 per cent on its $11,000,000 common stock, against about 16 per cent earned the previous year.

The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin singles out each year for honorary recognition three or four men who have contributed eminent services to agriculture. This year Arthur Broughton, one of the foremost flock-masters of the Middle West, John M. True, for several years Secretary of the Wisconsin State Board of Agriculture, and J. H. Hale, of Connecticut, the "peach king of America," will be honored for the work they have done in agricultural lines. This recognition is said to be unique in that it is the first time that the man of practical affairs in agriculture has been recognized for his efforts. Colleges have seldom, if ever, paid tribute to the man successfully engaged in farming or any of the various lines of agriculture.

"'If you want satisfaction you can get it.' The Governor at once began to pull off his coat." What Governor was this? The Governor of South Carolina, of course. He was in the hall of the State Legislature, whither he had gone to protest against statements made by a member of that body. Cooler persons prevented blows, but could not prevent the disgraceful scene becoming a scandal to the State.

William E. Kelly, President of the National Association of Letter-Carriers, has been appointed Postmaster of Brooklyn, New York, by President Wilson. The fact that Mr. Kelly entered the service as a letter-carrier makes his promotion seem a genuine reward of merit.

"I don't believe in the talcum-powder treatment for criminals," said an old prison warden recently, as reported by Richard Barry in the "Century;" "they are hard men, and if you use baby lotions on them they merely despise you." A younger warden made this effective reply: "You are wrong. Criminals are only children. . . . Being children, very pitiful, weak little children, using 'talcum powder' is the very treatment for them. The only mistake a warden can make is in letting the convict think that *he*, the warden, is also a child."

One of the few countries which has not been penetrated by the railway, Iceland, is, it is announced, now to have a railway some sixty miles long. Hitherto all land journeys in the island have had to be made on horseback, for there are said to be no highways even in the inhabited districts.

Paris is a great market for the common outdoor varieties of flowers, according to a writer in the "Country Gentleman," while in New York City it is very difficult to get anything from the florists' shops except a few standard flowers that are grown in hothouses. The writer asserts that when he asked a florist in New York for black-eyed Susans, snapdragons, and foxgloves, he received this reply: "Thees ees flower shop. Delicatessen store next door, meester."

The American Society for Thrift offered a prize to school-children for the best definition of thrift. The prize was won by Hazel Haag, of Warren, Pennsylvania. Her definition was: "Thrift is management of one's affairs in such a manner that the value of one's possessions is being constantly increased."

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